

wrong quarter; or there may be incompatibility of temper. In these cases, if the man is at fault, the wife will be neglected, and as soon as she finds this out, she will run off to her old home. If the woman's affections have strayed, she will similarly seize the first opportunity to run home on the smallest pretext, for it will generally be found that she has a lover in or near her old village. If the married couple are not reconciled, a divorce will ensue within the first few years, but comparatively seldom afterwards. If they have got children, the chances are that they will become gradually attached, and a kind of genuine conjugal love may be found between old couples. If they have settled down quietly, conjugal fidelity is the rule; but in this respect the men are better than the women.

FUNERAL
CEREMO-
NIES.

When a Santal is dying, the door of his house is kept open, in order that his spirit may leave it and not haunt the family residence. After death, the body is taken to a place where two roads meet, at the end of the village street, and is lamented over by the womenfolk. From this place it is taken to the place of burning, which is preferably the bank of a *bāndh* or pond belonging to the deceased; if there is no such *bāndh* or pond, then to the bank of a stream, for cremation always takes place near water. The pyre is built north and south, the logs being kept together by four poles, one at each corner, and the head being placed towards the south. Before the body is placed on the pyre, the male relatives of the deceased—for only the men come here—wash his hands, feet and face, and pour a little water in his mouth. Then he is carried thrice round the pyre and put on the top. The clothes and everything else that he had on his body are taken away, and also all the articles sent with the corpse, which are sold by auction later. The body is covered with a branch, and four pieces of wood are put across it. A fowl is taken round the pyre thrice, and is finally nailed to the south-west corner pole, i.e., the pole at the left side of the head. Then the nearest relative takes a bit of sedge, wraps a bit of the fringe of the dead man's clothes round it, kindles it, and with averted face places it with the left hand on the mouth of the corpse. After this, all the relatives, and then the others, throw a branch of firewood on the pyre, and proceed to kindle it. The people sit at a distance and watch the body being consumed, and they are all shaved.

When the cremation is over, the relatives go and pick up the bones (a bit of the skull, of the collar bone and of one of the bigger bones), wash them, pouring turmeric, water and milk over them, and put them in a new pot. This is covered with a potsherd

with a hole in it (a breathing hole for the dead), in which they insert a special kind of grass for the spirit to go out and in on. The rest of the bones and the ashes are thrown into the water, a winnowing fan is placed upside down on the site of the pyre, and standing on this the carriers of the body dig round it, the last digger hacking at the fan. Cow-dung is then mixed with water in a cup, and the mixture sprinkled all over the place where the body has been. The pot with the bones is buried outside the village. Thereupon all bathe, and before they enter the village cense themselves with *sāl* resin. The articles sent with the dead body are auctioned off the same day, and from the proceeds a goat is bought and eaten by all except those belonging to the dead man's house. Now-a-days the men generally go and drink with the proceeds.

Five days afterwards there is a ceremony called *tel nahān*. The villagers assemble at the dead man's house and shave. Then they go and bathe, the men to one place, the women to another. The men take with them a little earth (used as soap), oilcake, oil, three *sāl* twigs (used as tooth-brushes) and a couple of leaves. The men put these at the water's edge on three separate leaves, and offer all with the left hand, first to the dead, then to Pilchū Haram and Pilchū Budhi. The last two are invoked to take the dead man under their care. Having returned to the house three persons are "possessed," one by the dead man, who is asked how he departed this world and declares whether he died a natural death or not. After this, there is some drinking. The bones are now brought, put into a bag made of the dead man's clothes, taken out by a couple of men and carried over the boundary of the village. They are then brought back, put into another pot and hung up in the house, to be taken later on to the Dāmodar river.

Whilst these men are away, the others sit down to eat; a leaf cup with rice, a cup with curry, and a third cup with water are hung in a sling close to where the person died. The people of the house pretend to eat with the left hand, a thing they never do ordinarily, for to use the left hand is considered the worst of bad manners. At this time the village people sprinkle water over their persons with a *khas-khas* root; this purifies them religiously. Next morning they look to see whether the dead person has eaten the food hung up for him. If any remains of food are found, it is a sure sign that he has eaten; otherwise he has not. There is no fixed time for taking the bones to the Dāmodar river. It should strictly be done at once; but the distance to be traversed makes it difficult to do so. The journey is

therefore postponed to a convenient season, and till many can go together: generally, they go in December. Along the river there are several *ghāts*, where the relative who has brought the bones offers earth and tooth-brushes to the departed and to Pilchū Harām and Budhi, after he has thrown the bones, etc., into the river. He goes into deep water and, facing east, dives; whilst under the water he lets the bones go. The finale is the *bhandān*, a great feast with a sacrifice to the dead. When this is over, the mourners can resume their ordinary life; but till then they can neither sacrifice, nor use *sindur*, nor marry, etc.

INHERI-
TANCE.

The family share all they have in common till the death of the father, when the property is divided equally among the sons, except that the eldest son gets a bullock and a rupee more than the others. The daughters have no right to any of the property, the idea being that a woman does not inherit, for she is expected to marry and to be supported by her husband and her sons. What she gets is a gift, customary and therefore demandable, but it is not inherited. Lately, however, with the sanction of the courts, only daughters have been given a life tenure of the father's land, and this virtually means inheritance by daughters. If a man dies without sons or daughters, the property passes to the father, if he is alive, and if he is dead, to the brothers of the deceased by the same father (not necessarily by the same mother); if the latter are dead, their sons will succeed. In default of these, the deceased's paternal uncles and their sons succeed. The widow of a childless man is allowed one calf, one *bandi* (10 to 12 maunds) of paddy, one *batti* and one cloth, and returns to her parents' house, unless, as sometimes happens, she is kept by her husband's younger brothers. If one of these keeps her, he is not allowed more than the one share of the deceased man's property, which he would get in any case. If a man leaves only daughters, their paternal grandfather and uncles take charge of them and of the widow, and the property remains in their possession. When the daughters grow up, it is the duty of these relatives to arrange marriages for them, and to give them at marriage the presents which they would have received from their father. When all the daughters have been disposed of, the widow gets the perquisites of a childless widow and goes to her father's house or lives with her daughters. A widow with minor sons keeps all the property in her own possession, the grandfather and uncles seeing that she does not waste it. If the widow remarries before the sons are married, the grandfather and uncles take possession of all the property; the mother of the children has

no right to get anything, but sometimes a calf is given to her out of kindness, this gift being called *bhandkar*. There are special rules in cases where there is a son-in-law who has married under the *ghardi jawāē* form already described. If his wife has no brothers, and the son-in-law stays on in the house and works for his father-in-law till he dies, then he inherits all the immovable property and half the movable property, the other half of which goes to the relatives of the deceased. If there is more than one such son-in-law, they divide the property between them.

If there are many grandsons, or if the sons do not live happily together, especially if the father has married again and had other issue, the father and mother may make a partition. A *panchāyat* is called and the father divides all the land and cattle, keeping one share for himself. The son with whom the parents live retains possession of their share during their lifetime. Daughters get no share in the property, but if they are unmarried, they get one calf each, that being the dowry given them at marriage. Unmarried sons get a double share of the live stock, one share representing their marriage expenses. The cattle which the daughters-in-law received from their fathers and brothers and from their fathers-in-law at the time of marriage are not divided, but the cattle which the sons got at marriage are divided. If a woman dies while her sons are unmarried, they cannot demand a partition even if their father takes a second wife, but they can do so if they like after marriage. The father then gets one share and the sons one share each. If the second wife has no children when the father dies, the sons of the first wife can take the share their father got, but if they take it they will have to pay for the funeral of their step-mother.

The most noticeable development among the Santals during THE
recent years is what is known as the Kharwār or Kherwār MOVE.
movement. It appears to have been first noticed in 1871, when MENT. its leader was one Bhagrit of Taldihā—the name appears to be a corruption of Bhagirath, and the title of *bābājī* which he bore was also borrowed from the Hindus. From accounts given by Santals at the present time the methods pursued by Bhagrit were as follows. In the early morning he gave audience; the people came to him, each bringing a leaf-cup full of sun-dried rice (not the ordinary rice boiled before husking), milk in a *lota*, a bit of betel-nut and one pice. This was all placed before the *bābājī*, who listened to what they had to say, but kept quiet till all had put in their petitions. Bhagrit would then harangue them much as follows:—“ You have now brought your

petitions to me; I shall lay them before God (Chando). All will be well with anyone whose petition pleases God; if it does not, he must come again. Come twice, thrice, or even oftener; make your petitions to me, and I shall pray to Him for you. You must also continue to pray to Him, and then you will reap the benefit. If anyone is in serious trouble, he must keep watch throughout the night."

The following morning, before sunrise, he asked the people whether they had kept watch. If they said that they had slept, he scolded them, saying that they had come only to eat. If they said they had watched, he asked them whether they had seen Chando come down and heard him talk with Bhagrit. This, of course, was news to them, and they were treated to a new harangue, Bhagrit charging them with lying and telling them that it was their own fault that they got no help. Then he started preaching to them, the subject matter of his address being very much the same as that of the ten commandments of the Christians. He charged them to live by his precepts and not to let evil come into their lives, otherwise they would not get God's blessing.

As time went on, his style of preaching was somewhat altered, probably because the people did not attain their wishes, and the attendance fell off. He had to find something to explain the one and counteract the other. He now said that all evil had to be purged out, and all should come to him with one heart. 'We or our fathers have sinned utterly ('sixteen annas'); when our sins are fully atoned for, we shall be the owners of the country.' In course of time he collected a good deal of money, of which he and his helpers kept most. Then came the famine of 1874 in spite of all his promises. When Burma rice was imported, Bhagrit told the people that now they could see how God was working for them. The Sahibs were afraid. The rice which they brought was rice formerly given by the Santals to the *bongas*, and now brought back under some pretext. It was for the Santals to eat, but they must be very careful not to let fowls or pigs pollute it, and they should bathe daily and then cook their food. This, it will be noted, is a Hinduistic touch. Now, if they were only careful, was the time for them to get the land. In Sido's and Kanhu's time. i.e., in the Santal rebellion, it had been God's desire to give the country to the Santals; but they had sinned, especially in having relations with women of other races, and so God had refused to help them. Now they must act otherwise and cleanse themselves. After this, the people commenced to kill their pigs and fowls; but they were

generally wise enough to eat them. From this time the followers of Bhagrit appear to have taken the name of Kharwār.

The people who were under Bhagrit's influence thought that the rice imported into the famine-stricken areas was a free gift. They carted it from the distributing centres to their villages; before they took it into the village street, they sacrificed and ate a black goat at its entrance. After this they took the rice to the *manjhithān*, divided it according to their numbers, and commenced cooking in Hindu style. When the time came for paying back the Government advances, they began to disbelieve Bhagrit. He still tried to delude them, but was arrested and imprisoned, and for the time being the movement collapsed.

Bhagrit had several imitators, who were also called *bābājī*, or in some cases *guru*, and worked much as he did. Several of them told the people that they had been commissioned by God to work for a certain time, e.g., three or five years; when that period expired, they ceased working. It is clear that most of them had come into contact with Christianity. They declared that they did not cure people, but God did. Only those who believed were healed, and doubters would not benefit in any way. The people must live a clean life and not use filthy language. Some of the *bābājīs* started regular meetings for the people on Sundays, and prohibited Sunday labour for them and their cattle. They further directed the people to be kind to their animals, not to strike them on the head or on the bones (otherwise they would cry to God, who would punish the offenders), and to leave pasture grounds for them. One of them introduced Rāma, the Hindu deity, identifying him with God. At the end of his Sunday meeting harangue he called out with all his might: "*Rām Chando duhai*," and all those present did the same. Some, but only a minority, gave the movement a political aspect by instigating the people to refuse payment of rent for their holdings, on the ground that land which they had reclaimed from waste belonged solely to them. Nearly all these and later *bābājīs* appeared first in the vicinity of Goddā and thence spread southwards and eastwards. It is also noticeable that the strange rumours which sometimes pass through the country seem to emanate from the same quarter.

Little was heard of the movement after the imprisonment of some of its leaders, but it revived in 1880, largely owing to the preaching of one Dubia Gosain, who is said to have appeared from somewhere near Deoghar and was more Hinduistic than others of his class. He commanded the Santals to kill their pigs and fowls and to conform to Hindu customs. He claimed

divine authority, and obtained no little influence owing to letters containing his commands being circulated far and wide. Considerable excitement and a spirit of smouldering disaffection ensued among the Santals, always on the look-out for supernatural manifestations. This excitement, as related in Chapter II, led to some disturbances at the census of 1881, but the arrest of the *babājī* and the vigorous measures taken by Government prevented more serious trouble. Subsequently, in 1891, the Kharwārs appear again to have taken advantage of the census to frighten other Santals and to spread mischievous rumours in the Rājmahal subdivision. It was stated, for instance, that the English Raj was to come to an end, the Kharwārs would rule in their stead, and no rent would be paid; that all Santals except the Kharwārs would be made Christians; that the soil of the country being dark belonged to the dark-skinned people and not to the white men, who would go back to their own country, where the soil was white.

The Kharwār movement does not appear to be extinct, for a few years ago there was a pronounced and widespread rerudescence of it during the hard times the people had to go through. Several Hindu practices have been introduced in the later phases of the movement, and one marked feature is the worship of the *babājis*. Some of them and of their followers profess to be vegetarians, but they do not insist that others should adopt the same diet, though they recommend it. The precepts inculcated by a recent *babāji* were as follows. This man was thought to be somewhat mad just before he became a *babāji*, because he refused to eat anything touched by women. Then it came to light that he was a *babāji* in embryo. He forbade all filthy language and insisted on addressing all, even children, as father and mother. People soon began to resort to him, and so many flocked to him that he could not attend to all personally. Then he declared that he had received a command from God that the people were to use earth, *dhubi* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*) and cow-dung ashes, which would be blessed if they obeyed his commandments. These articles were divided into three parts, which were kept separate. One part had to be either drunk (mixed in water) or applied externally as the case might be. Another part had to be given to the cattle to make them give milk. A third part was to bring personal prosperity, and to be used according to instructions given, viz., it was to be mixed in water in a certain way and sprinkled all over the house wherever the inmates had or used or did anything. When taking it home, they had to be very careful not to pollute it in any way; they had also to eat it from clean utensils and after washing.

The articles used have a symbolic meaning, and are not regarded as medicines.

In this connection, it may be remarked that the Santals instinctively feel the importance of symbolical action. In 1907, for instance, when there were a number of *babājis* in the south of the Santal Parganas, their disciples could be seen running, but never walking, from place to place ; this was a symbolic action intended to impress the necessity of haste. Again, if a woman comes to a *babāji* to be delivered from the *bongas*—for a *babāji*, though not a witch-finder, professes to cure a confessed witch—he proceeds in a semi-symbolic way. It would take too much space to describe in detail how the *babāji* finds out the truth. Briefly, the woman confesses to having had sexual intercourse with a great number of *bongas* (in one case, it is said, the woman mentioned as many as 127 male *bongas*, each separately by name) during the confession the *babāji*, as a preliminary measure, draws figures on the ground, muttering *mantras*, spitting on the figures and wiping them out ; after a night's preparation, he gives the woman a twig with which she draws figures on the ground according to his instructions, one to represent each of the *bongas* with whom she has lived ; finally the *babāji* makes the woman break off her connexion with each *bonga*, and she repeats after him a long list of abusive epithets for each and every *bonga*, winding up with spitting and trampling on the figures.

A *babāji* pretends to be a prophet, an intermediary between the supernatural and the material world, and is at times taken by the people at his own valuation. The result is that those who believe in him, resort to him to get relief or help when they have lost faith in their ordinary everyday remedies. The village which a *babāji* makes his headquarters is generally full of people who want a cure for all kinds of diseases and frailties, either for themselves, or for their relatives or their cattle. One has an obstinate sore, another has epilepsy, a third has a cough, a fourth has ring-worm. One wants a remedy to prevent his children dying off as they are born ; the wife of another never gets any children at all ; a third has a confessed witch for a wife, etc. And the *babāji* is expected to be able to help each and every one of them. Politics do not play any great part at this stage, but may come in later as a result of the *babāji*'s teachings.

The *babājis* appear in some cases to have a lucrative profession. Bhagrit certainly made money ; at first he was pleased to receive only copper ; later on he admonished the people to bring silver—then their applications would be granted sooner ! Others, however, have used the money they got to help the

people, *e.g.*, Bariar *bābājī* did not receive money. The people threw it on the ground before him ; and when his levée was over, he used to ask whose money had been lost. As no one answered, he said that he had no authority (*i.e.*, no divine command) to take money, called the village policeman and ordered him to give it to the blind, the halt and the sick who had come, and also to buy them food ; he was not, however, to give it to anyone who had money with which to buy food.

The Kharwār movement seems to have been originally of a religious character. The Santal traditions assert that their ancestors had no *bongas*, but worshipped God alone. They are conscious that they have become degraded by giving up their purer belief, *e.g.*, the old *gurus* will despairingly ask what can be the reason why God has punished them and permitted them to lead a vagrant life, moving like the silk-worm, from place to place, without any abiding home. In ordinary years a Santal will not give much heed to such thoughts ; but the dormant memory of God is more or less awakened when anything extraordinary happens to the people as a whole (*e.g.*, famine or scarcity), or when things happen to the individual which are not explained by the malign influence of *bongas* or witches, or do not yield to ordinary remedies. In such contingencies, they are apt to think they will improve their lot by altering or reforming their religious practices and beliefs. This also explains the spasmodic character of the movement. In times of comparative plenty or prosperity very little is heard of it ; during times of famine or scarcity the movement revives.

It is noticeable that on its religious side the movement has shown a tendency to Hinduism. Its early followers called themselves Saphā Har, *i.e.*, the pure men, and eschewed fowls, pigs and intoxicating liquor, but took *gānja*. One still meets Santals who call themselves Saphā Har, wear their hair in long matted tresses, and claim that they worship Mahādeo and never kill animals except as a sacrifice. At the same time, there seems little doubt that the extraneous ideas which have from the first given vitality to this movement are Christian. Several of the *bābājis* have been pervert Christians, and the first, Bhagrit, either had been a Christian or at any rate had been in a Christian school.

The fact that the Kharwār movement has sometimes had a political aspect is probably caused by the circumstance that when the Santals start thinking of the old days, they conceive of them as a golden age with absolute freedom and happiness. If, they argue, they revert to their old ways, why should not their old freedom come back, with no foreigners to harass them or

take rent from them? The result is that the Kharwārs have at times claimed to be an independent race from whom no rent is due for land which they or their ancestors have cleared. This is not altogether surprising, for the Santals are not yet civilized enough to understand the machinery of Government. Their rent is paid to the zamindār, and they do not believe that any of it is expended for the public good. They consider that they, as the clearers of the land, have an exclusive right to enjoy the fruits of their labours.

To explain certain phases of the movement the following may be mentioned. If an idea gets hold of a Santal crowd, they cease to reason and will go to any extreme in pursuing it; but, on the other hand, the individual Santal does not feel much, if any, personal responsibility or a specific personal interest. The ordinary Santal is courageous enough behind a drum or a common leader; as soon as the latter disappears, there will be a general collapse. Thus, a *bābāji* with a political propaganda may be dangerous to the public peace; but as soon as he disappears very little more is heard of the movement. "It is," writes Mr. Bodding, "difficult at the present time to say what will become of this movement. It is not by any means extinct —there are many *Saphā* Har in the country, especially in the north and middle part. There are also a few *bābājis*; but as at present nothing special is moving the people, they are quiet because they are not sought after, and none of them are 'stars' of great magnitude, or, in other words, demagogues of any significance. But there is no reason why it may not crop up again in some form or other, the inner causes being there as they have been."

CHAPTER V.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

PRINCIPAL DISEASES. THE diseases most commonly met with in the district are malarial fevers, bowel complaints, influenza, ophthalmia, cholera, small-pox and skin diseases.

Fever. Malarial fevers are prevalent before and after the rains, and are especially common in the low-lying country bordering the Ganges, and in the Damin-i-koh portion of the Godda and Pākaur subdivisions, in localities where, the drainage being defective, the land is apt to become waterlogged and water remains stagnant in hollows and depressions. The type most commonly met with is intermittent fever, but remittent cases are fairly numerous at the close of the rainy season. Eruptive fevers, such as small-pox, measles and chicken-pox, are endemic throughout the district, and sometimes become epidemic during the hot months preceding the rains. Judging from the vital statistics, the mortality caused by fever is less than in other districts of Bengal, for from 1892 to 1904 the death-rate was above 20 per mille in only four years. In each of the succeeding three years, however, the death-rate was as high as 25 per mille.

Cholera. Epidemics of cholera break out from time to time, beginning with the hot weather and ending with the rains. The subdivisions of Rājmahal and Goddā with the municipal town of Deoghar suffer most, and the two worst epidemics on record are those of 1897, when 7,107 or 4 per mille of the population died, and of 1906 when the disease carried off 6,160 persons or 3·4 per mille.

Small-pox. There are small outbreaks of small-pox every year, but the death-rate since the present system of mortuary returns was introduced has never been as high as 1 per mille except in 1903, when 2,986 persons died, representing 1·6 per mille of the population.

Plague. The first outbreak of plague in this district occurred early in 1901 in Sahibganj, where it had been imported from Mohghyr

through the Marwāris of the town. The only other outbreak was in the municipal town of Deoghar, and the total number of deaths in the year was only 219. This is the worst epidemic the district has yet suffered from, the total number of deaths in the six years 1902-07 being only 222.

Attacks of dysentery are fairly numerous throughout the year, Other particularly during the rains, and deaths from this cause are believed to be much higher than the mortuary returns show. diseases. Influenza has appeared in epidemic form very frequently of late years, in some cases attacking almost every member of a village. Ophthalmia of a severe type has also been prevalent; the number of blind persons, as recorded at the census, increased from 418 in 1891 to 2,066 in 1901. Skin diseases, particularly scabies, are common among young children during the cold season, presumably owing to want of care and cleanliness.

Vaccination is, on the whole, regarded favourably by the VACCINATION. aboriginal races—not that they have much faith in it, but because it is the wish of Government. Calf vaccination was introduced for the first time in 1898-99, and was willingly accepted by them, but there was a considerable prejudice against it on the part of the Hindus, particularly the *pāndas* of Deoghar. A number of the old vaccinators resigned their appointments rather than vaccinate from the calf, but since that year considerable progress has been made. In 1907-08, altogether 55,776 persons or 31·2 per mille of the population were successfully vaccinated as against an average of 40·8 per mille in the previous five years, while the ratio of infants to whom protection was afforded was 61·9 per cent.

The marginal table shows the public charitable dispensaries in MEDICAL existence in 1908 and the number INSTITUTIONS. of beds in each. Of these dispensaries, the oldest is that at Deoghar,

Name.	NUMBER OF BEDS.	
	Men.	Women.
Deoghar ..	24	8
Naya Dumkā ..	14	4
Sāhibgāj ..	10	2
Jāmtārā ..	8	4
Godā ..	6	2
Rājmahāl ..	6	2
Pākaur ..	4	2
Amrāpārā ..	...	...
Barīc ..	...	...
Burhāt ..	...	...
Kātikund ..	...	...

which was opened in 1864 and is maintained by private subscriptions, a municipal grant and a Government contribution. It is located in a substantial *pukka* building, with detached buildings for the treatment of paupers and of infectious cases, and separate accommodation for the relatives of patients. In 1865 dispensaries were established at the subdivisional head-

quarters of Dumkā, Rājmahāl and Goddā. The Dumkā hospital is contained in a good stone building, and like the Deoghar dispensary has separate accommodation for paupers, infectious cases and patients' relatives. In 1900 the zamīndār of Lakhanpur, Rai Bahādur Sitāb Chānd Lāhā, added a small cottage hospital with two wards for the treatment of women. The Rājmahāl dispensary is located in a fine old Muhammadan mosque on the banks of the river Ganges, a gift of the East Indian Railway Company. Goddā has a substantial building with out-houses for treatment of pauper and infectious cases. In 1877 two more dispensaries were established at Jāmtārā and Sāhibganj. That at Jāmtārā was located in a small thatched building until 1897, when a masonry building took its place. The Sāhibganj dispensary until some ten years ago was housed in a few dingy rooms in a native *sarai*, but now has a good building with a female cottage hospital. This dispensary is very largely attended by the labourers employed in the *sabai* grass trade. In 1893 a dispensary was opened at Kātikund, and in 1897 another was started at Barīo, both in the Dāmin-i-koh. These dispensaries are maintained by the Santāls, who pay one anna per house annually, the Government providing the services of Civil Hospital Assistants. In 1898 a dispensary was opened at the subdivisional headquarters of Pākaur, which supplied a long-felt want. The Rājā had hitherto kept up a public dispensary, but villagers of low caste were not encouraged to attend it for fear that they might carry contagion to the inmates of the palace, so that the charity was not of as much benefit to the public as it might have been. Subsequently, the Rājā made over a building, erected for an institute near the *kachahri*, for the new hospital. Next year another dispensary was opened at Asanbani, the building and stock being the gift of Mr. Maling Grant, and a private dispensary was started at Madhupur by Bābu Balai Chānd Dutt. In 1908 another private dispensary at Maheshpur was brought under Government supervision.

There are two railway dispensaries and four dispensaries maintained by missions, of which the best attended are said to be those of the Church Missionary Society and the Indian Home Mission to the Santāls. The missionaries scattered over the district also treat the sick both at the mission stations and in villages. It is satisfactory to note that the Santāls, who used to regard a dispensary as the abode of devils and would not accept European treatment, now attend them in fair numbers, provided the Civil Hospital Assistant in charge is kind and sympathetic. . The

following table shows the receipts of and attendance at the dispensaries in 1908 :—

Names.	Balance on 1st January 1908.	Government con- tribu- tions.	Municipal grants.	Subscrip- tions.	Other re- ceipts.	Total re- ceipts.	Total expen- diture.	In-door pa- tients (to- tal).	Out- door patients (total).
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
Amrāpūrā	...	599	...	...	...	599	599	...	3,502
Asanbāni	...	8	...	918	...	926	926	...	6,967
Bario	1,654	529	...	223	37	1,843	780	780	7,215
Burhāit	...	730	...	...	...	730	730	...	6,936
Deoghar	1,478	84	630	1,331	117	3,840	1,848	246	5,078
Dumkā	786	1,108	450	901	318	3,561	3,177	188	7,087
Godāk	279	570	...	842	74	1,765	1,413	90	3,709
Jemātārā	365	530	...	452	17	1,154	985	120	7,920
Ketikund	486	331	...	328	104	1,249	835	...	3,687
Madhupur	...	24	...	1,609	...	1,633	1,633	...	5,700
Māheshpur	...	18	...	1,588	...	1,600	1,600	...	1,609
Pekaur	939	75	...	1,585	20	3,119	1,890	51	6,481
Rājmahal	725	340	...	315	78	1,458	936	52	8,488
Sāhibganj	3,131	25	1,725	304	...	5,185	1,534	77	5,711

There is a leper asylum called the Rāj Kumāri Leper Asylum ^{LEPER} _{ASYLUM} at Deoghar, which was founded in 1895 as the result of private efforts, its foundation being chiefly due to the liberality of the late Dr. Mahendra Lāl Sarkār, C.I.E., who gave Rs. 5,000 towards the erection of the buildings, and after whose wife it is named. Two male wards capable of accommodating 32 lepers were originally constructed, together with kitchens for the lepers to cook their own food. In 1900 a dispensary and a female ward capable of accommodating four lepers were added, and the buildings now suffice for 40 lepers. The institution is maintained by a small endowment and subscriptions, from which as large a sum as possible is invested every year so as to make it self-supporting. It is managed by a Committee, of which the Deputy Commissioner is Chairman.

The Puri Lodging House Act (IV B.C. of 1871) is in force ^{LODGING} in the town of Deoghar, which is a noted place of pilgrimage, and ^{HOUSE} _{ACT.} in Jesidih Bazar at the Baidyanāth Junction, having been extended to the former place in 1879 and to the latter in 1901. This Act provides, *inter alia*, for the appointment of a Health Officer to inspect lodging houses and report upon them to the Magistrate. Under its provisions no lodging house may be opened without a license, and licenses are granted only upon a certificate from the Health Officer stating the suitability of the building for the purpose and the number of persons which it can accommodate. An amending Act was subsequently passed in 1908, the chief objects of which are to provide safeguards against over-crowding in lodging houses, to render their inspection more practicable, and to give Government power to increase the license fees, so as to

secure the funds necessary for proper sanitation. The receipts obtained under the working of the Act form what is known as the Lodging House Fund and consist mainly of fees paid for the licensing of lodging houses and of contributions, *e.g.*, in 1907-08. Rupees 4,834 were contributed for the erection of sheds for pilgrims on the camping-ground at Deoghar. The Fund provides the pay of the Health Officer and a small establishment for collection and supervision, consisting of a clerk, overseer and peon; it also makes provision for the sanitation and conservancy of the town and the construction and repair of buildings, such as pilgrims' shops and sheds. The receipts in 1908-09 amounted to Rs. 1,948 and the expenditure was Rs. 11,291, as against Rs. 1,009 and Rs. 19,263 respectively in 1906-07, and Rs. 7,297 and Rs. 7,818 in 1907-08. According to the returns for 1908-09, there are 63 licensed lodging houses, which have accommodation for 3,153 persons.

CHAPTER VI.

—
AGRICULTURE.

IN the level strip of land along the Ganges agricultural conditions are the same as in the alluvial plains of Bihār. Elsewhere the surface is to a large extent composed of long undulating ridges, between which the drainage runs off to join the larger streams. The trough-like hollows that lie between the undulations of the surface are full of rich alluvial soil into which a detritus of vegetable matter has been washed. The crests of the ridges, however, are as a rule very poor, being made up of sterile gravel or stiff clay lying on a hard subsoil, which is dependent on the rainfall and yields even to irrigation but a meagre outturn. The slopes of these ridges, and the swampy ground between,^{*} supply the only land on which a rice crop can be raised. The soil is, in the first instance, brought under cultivation by cutting level terraces out of the slope, a small bank to hold water being left round each plot. The slopes thus present the appearance of a series of steps, varying from one to five feet in height. When the slopes are too steep for terracing, or the soil too stony for cultivation, the bed of the stream is banked up and made into one long narrow rice field. The rice terraces are flooded as soon as possible after the rains set in, and the water is retained until the crop ripens in late autumn. After the crop has been reaped, the higher levels become dry and hard, but the lower fields often remain moist till February and March. The cultivable area which cannot be converted into rice fields is used for other crops requiring less moisture.

CLASSES OF LAND. There are two main classes of land, known as *dhāni* or rice lands and *bāri* or uplands, the land under cultivation being almost equally divided between them. The rice lands are usually subdivided into three classes, viz., first, second and third class *dhāni*, this classification depending chiefly on the level of the land, the crops it grows and the amount of moisture it retains. First class *dhāni*, called *āvāl*, *bahāl* or *jol*, includes lands on the lower levels, which are protected by their natural situation, by springs, or by the numerous small embankments which the ryots throw across the dips and hollows. The best of the first class rice lands are those which are fed by perennial springs, from which moisture oozes even in the hottest months of the year. Second class *dhāni*, called *doem*, *kāndli* or *sakrat*, consists of the rice fields on the smaller undulations and the lower terraced lands on the slopes. Each step acts as a shallow reservoir for the step below, and there is always percolation from the higher to the lower levels. Third class *dhāni*, called *soem* or *bād*, consists of the higher terraced fields, which have been cut out from the slopes and have only small *aīs* or ridges to retain rainfall. *Bāri* lands are unterraced high lands on which maize, mustard, millets, pulses and other miscellaneous crops are grown. They are usually divided into two main classes :—(1) first class *bāri*, i.e., the land round the village site or on the banks of streams, which is usually cropped twice a year, and (2) second class *bāri*, known as *dangalbāri*, i.e., inferior land away from the village site, which is only cropped once a year.

As regards the crops grown on the different classes of land, first class *dhāni* land, being low-lying and moist, is utilized for growing winter rice, for even in the driest year these fields accumulate and retain sufficient moisture for its growth. Gram, linseed, *khesāri* and other *rabi* crops are also sometimes raised on these first class rice lands ; and in tracts where they form flat and extensive *bahiārs*, as in those parts of the Goddā subdivision which adjoin Bhāgalpur, *rabi* is frequently grown. The second class paddy fields, are utilized indifferently for growing winter and autumn rice. When winter rice is grown on them, the crop is apt to fail in years of short rainfall, unless it is protected by *bāndhs* or embankments forming reservoirs, from which water can be let into the fields if there is an early cessation of the rains. When autumn rice is raised on such lands, the crop is more secure. Second class land is occasionally utilized in the cold weather for growing a second crop of wheat, barley, linseed, *khesāri* or lentils. Sugarcane is often grown on second class rice lands close to tanks or streams which afford facilities for irrigation. The third class paddy fields usually grow *bhadoi* or autumn rice.

First class *bāri* land in the immediate vicinity of villages, where the surface is fairly level, and the soil is rich in organic matter derived from village refuse of all kinds, besides being artificially manured, supports valuable crops, such as maize, mustard, the larger variety of cotton (*bar-kāpās*), tobacco, the castor-oil plant and vegetables. Maize is generally the first crop raised and is followed by mustard; in fact, it is understood locally that first class *bāri* is land cultivated with or capable of growing maize. *Jowār* or *choli* (*Andropogon sorghum*) and both the *māghi* and *chaitali* varieties of *rahar* (*Cajanus indicus*) are also grown on first class *bāri* land, and in the more productive localities on second class *bāri* land. Sugarcane is also grown on first class *bāri* lands near tanks. In the Pābbiā tāluk of the Jāmtārā subdivision such sugarcane fields are not usually irrigated, but *bāri* lands that retain moisture are selected for its cultivation. The rest of the *bāri* land is generally sown with either *gondli* (*Panicum miliare*) or *kodo* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*) in the hot weather, and with *kurthi* (*Dolichos biflorus*) or *sarguja* (*Guizotia abyssinica*) in the autumn. The minor crops, i.e., crops which are less extensively grown on second class *bāri* land, are a superior variety of *gondli* called *laio* (*Panicum italicum*), *bajra* (*Pennisetum typhoides*), *marud* (*Eleusine Coracana*), gram, *til* (*Sesamum indicum*), *pattua* (*Hibiscus cannabinus*) and the smaller variety of cotton (*Chhotakāpās*).

In this district the names for the same type of soil seem to ^{SOILS.} vary in different parts, Hindi, Bengali and Santāli names being all in use. A heavy black clay is known as *karār*, and when yellowish in colour as *entel*, *chital mati* or *jetang hasa*, the last being a Santāli word. It is a sticky clay, becoming very hard when dry, and is poor in quality, producing only *rahar*, *kurthi* and *bajra*; but it improves after having been under cultivation for some time, when it turns into good paddy land. The typical clay soil of the district is variously known as *kewāl*, *kala mati*, *metal* and, in Santāli, *hende hasa*. It is a black clay soil, which, though hard when dry, is friable. It is, on the whole, very fertile and is chiefly used for growing paddy. A clay loam is called *bindi mati*, and a loam is called *donaśā*. *Balhar*, *balkeśi*, and *bele* are sandy soils (called by the Santals *gital hasa*), which are useless for agriculture. *Balesundar* is a reddish sandy clay found on the banks of the hill streams—a poor soil, which, however, produces paddy under irrigation. The *diāra* soil on the banks of the Ganges, that receives a deposit of silt every year, is known as *masin* or *masina mati* (Santāli, *pali hasa*). It is a light, friable, rich soil used for both *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops. *Ankhuri* or *lalmati* (Santāli, *ara*

hasa or *dhiri hasa*) is a reddish soil found near the hills. It is of an inferior quality but not infertile, for it will grow *jowar*, maize, *kurthi*, *kodo* and *rahar* besides *sabai* grass. *Bastu* or *bhita* land (*Santali ora barge*) is homestead land growing sugarcane, chilies, tobacco, maize, mustard and all kinds of vegetables. Saline soils which are unfit for agricultural purposes are called *uar*, *kharwa*, etc.* The wet saline soil called *nuna mati* grows paddy, but the outturn is poor.

IRRIGATION.

Artificial irrigation is essential for the cultivation of rice except in the level tract adjoining the Ganges and at the bottom of inland depressions, where the soil is kept moist by perennial springs or is capable of retaining water draining off higher levels. Here heavy crops of rice are obtained, even though the rainfall is short or ceases prematurely; but there is a danger of crop failure if the surrounding slopes are too steep, for the rush of water often brings with it drifts of sand which ruin the crop. To obviate this danger, a small channel is often provided for the escape of sand-laden water. Except in such localities, artificial irrigation is absolutely necessary, and fortunately the undulating nature of the country affords great facilities for protective works. These facilities have been so fully utilized, that one-third of the rice land is now protected from drought by its natural position or by small irrigation works, one-third is partially protected, and only one-third remains unprotected.

Bandhs
and *hirs*.

The irrigation works generally take the form of embankments constructed across ravines, hollows or other natural depressions or at the head of the numerous valleys, which impound the drainage water and also dam up any stream there may be in the bed of a valley or ravine. They thus form reservoirs, from which the rice fields, stretching away, each on a lower level than another, and widening as they recede from the dam, are irrigated. These embankments, when small, are called *hirs* and when large *bandhs*. Their number is legion, and no village is without one or two at least. The smaller ones dry up a month or two after the rains cease, but generally hold sufficient water to carry the fields below over the precarious months of October and November. The larger ones have frequently catchment basins large enough to ensure a continuous water-supply from the end of one rainy season to the beginning of the next. Their sites are usually well chosen, and the beds of the *bandhs* are often impregnated with natural springs. The slopes, moreover, are laboriously terraced, the fields being cut out from them in a series of steps. Being enclosed by small

* D. N. Mukherji, *Note on the Soils of Bengal*, 1909.

ridges (*aile*) which retain water, the higher fields are practically minute reservoirs, from which water percolates or is allowed to run off to the fields below.

There is very little well irrigation in this district. There are, Wells. it is true, *kachchā* wells in nearly every village, however small, but they usually consist merely of holes scooped out wherever springs exist, and are not used much for irrigation, except over small patches of first class *bāri* land growing vegetables, tobacco and other special crops. *Tappa Manihāri* in the north of the Goddā subdivision, with an area of about 100 square miles, which consists of unusually flat and fertile land, is the only tract in which wells are used to any considerable extent.

In *tappas* Manihāri, Barkop and Pātsundā (in the Goddā *Dauras*. subdivision) and also to a less extent in *pargana* Goddā, another tract of 100 square miles within the same subdivision, a considerable amount of irrigation is effected by water channels called *dauras* leading from embankments thrown across the beds of streams to fields at a lower level. These channels frequently pass through several villages, all of which assist in their construction and share in the benefits accruing from them. There is, indeed, quite a network of distributaries across the face of Manihāri and the more level parts of Goddā, showing that the people are well able to take advantage of the particular form of irrigation best suited to the needs of the country. Such a system is possible in this part of the district, for the river channels are comparatively shallow and will admit of the construction of dams in their beds after the close of the rains.

Tappa Manihāri is a monotonously level plain hemmed in by the hill ranges of the Dāmin-i-koh on the west and south and by the high lands of the Bhāgalpur district on the remaining sides. From these higher lands it gets an excellent supply of water, which is carefully preserved in irrigation *bāndhs*. Goddā is a more undulating country, but the higher lands enclose broad fertile valleys, which are watered by hill streams from the Dāmin. Here also irrigation has reached a high stage of development, and the lands of the central valleys are reputed to be the most fertile rice lands in the district. Elsewhere irrigation from the rivers is impossible, for by the end of the rainy season they are merely beds of sand with little or no water.

Apart from the natural facilities for irrigation, the system of administration in the Santāl Parganas has done much to develop its natural resources. "The land system of the Santāl Parganas is," writes Mr. H. McPherson, "one which lends itself with peculiar advantage to co-operation amongst the cultivators of the soil.

The unit is the village. At the head of almost every village there is a headman. The headman is the representative of the village, through whom the villagers as a body deal with the proprietor. The proprietor is merely the rent-receiver and has no part in the management or internal economy of the village. His interference, if he is at all disposed to interfere, which few landlords in the Santal Parganas are, is liable to be checked at every turn by appeal to the local officer, who besides being the court of civil and criminal justice to the people, is their active and sympathetic safeguard against every form of oppression that may be practised by the headman or proprietor. The headman is appointed by and is liable to be dismissed by the District Officer. Hence it is that in the Santal Parganas the village commune with its headman and elders flourishes with a very strong and vigorous life.

"The faculty of association and co-operation has been fostered and developed to a degree that is impossible in the ordinary district. It is this facility of co-operation to which, I think, is chiefly due the very extraordinary utilization that has occurred of the natural irrigational advantages of the district. Works that have been beyond the means and enterprise of the individual cultivator have been successfully carried through by the united efforts of the community, each member of which has shared in the general resultant good, and co-operation has told not only on the work of construction but also on the work of maintenance and repair. By a special provision of the village record-of-rights and duties, which was framed 25 years ago and has now been renewed, it is the duty of the headman and ryots of a village to maintain and repair all the village *bandhs*, tanks and other works of irrigation. While speaking of the record-of-rights I may note another of the special provisions, viz., that without reference to the proprietor any ryot may construct embankments and like works for purposes of reclamation or irrigation, provided he does not thereby cause injury or loss to others. This clause removes the proprietor from interference with the work of improvement, and leaves individual ryots and the community free to think out and execute their own ideas of improvement."

A further inducement to the ryots to improve their lands by irrigation is afforded by the rental law which provides that the rents due to the proprietor are fixed for the term of settlement, i.e., for at least 15 years: as a matter of fact, they usually remain unchanged even longer. The ryot, therefore, who makes or improves a *bandh*, knows that for a considerable period he will not be deprived of the fruits of his enterprise. He not only repays

himself for his labour and expense within a year or two, but goes on reaping his reward till the time for resettlement comes round. He further knows that when there is resettlement, the operations will be conducted under the immediate supervision of Government officers who will treat him sympathetically, take his improvements into account, and not enhance his rent unduly. So far from their rents being enhanced, cultivators are allowed considerable abatements or remissions of rate rent in consideration of improvements effected by them during the course of the settlement. The extent to which the ryots have taken advantage of these conditions and improved the country by reclaiming, terracing and embanking may be gathered from Mr. McPherson's settlement figures, for in an area of 3,300 square miles rice cultivation has increased from 380,000 acres to 625,000 acres and first class rice land from 108,000 acres to 208,000 acres.

Much, however, as has been done by the village communities, their interest is confined to single villages, and they labour under the difficulty that, while their own resources are small, they cannot pledge their united security to obtain capital, inasmuch as the lands of the district are not transferable by mortgage or sale. Irrigation works, carried out by individual ryots or village communities are, therefore, necessarily of a minor character. Reservoirs and channels affecting more villages than one, and involving considerable outlay, can only be constructed and maintained by the zamindars, and the latter have hitherto shown little enterprise in this direction. They belong to a class who are not likely to lay out capital on improvements unless they see a fair chance of obtaining a reasonable return for it, and unlike the proprietors of permanently-settled estates in other districts, they were until recently unable to obtain an immediate and fair return for money spent by them on works of improvement. The law, as it stood, gave them no prospect of such a return, for if a proprietor during the currency of a settlement were to expend capital on the construction of large irrigation works, he would have to wait for the profits of his enterprise till the settlement could be revised. He might, it is true, bargain with the headman or ryots to receive higher rents in return, but the contract would not be enforceable in the courts, and his profit would thus be precarious. At the revision his enhancement of income would depend on two factors, viz., classification and rates. The former would be determined by the settlement staff, and the latter probably by Government. His expenditure on irrigation works would probably result in a higher classification, and to this extent some return would be a moral certainty, but

Government might or might not allow an enhancement of the former rates of rent.

To remedy this state of affairs Regulation III of 1907 has been passed, under which the Deputy Commissioner may, during the currency of a settlement, allow an enhancement of rent on the ground of improvements effected by or at the expense of the proprietor. This is subject to the provision that, in the case of villages in the lease or management of a *mānhi* or headman, the proprietor must get the consent of the Deputy Commissioner before effecting an improvement, and the improvement must be of so substantial a nature as to affect beneficially a considerable proportion of the lands in the village.

PRINCIPAL CROPS.

	Bhadoi.	Aghani.	Rabi.
Dumkā	26	50	24
Deoghar	24	53	23
Jāmtārā	21	69	10
Pakaur	27	61	12
Rājmahal	25	52	23
Zamindāri areas	21½	58½	20
Dāmin-i-koh	26	51	23
District Total	22½	56½	21

From the marginal table it will be seen that nearly two-thirds of the total cropped area is occupied by *aghani* crops and a little more than one-fifth each by *bhadoi* and *rabi* crops. The district has thus the crops of three seasons to rely on and is therefore not very liable to famine. In the Jāmtārā and Pakaur subdivisions, however, *rabi* crops, and in the Goddā subdivision *bhadoi* crops, are grown on comparatively small areas. Statistics of the areas under the principal crops in each subdivision will be found at the end of the chapter.

Rice.

Rice accounts for about one-half of the total cropped area, as shown in the following table, and the greater part of the crop consists of winter rice. Spring or *boro* rice is scarcely grown at all except in the Rājmahal subdivision, where it is raised on the edge of the *ghils* which are numerous in that part of the district.

	Dumkā.	Deoghar.	Jāmtārā.	Pakaur.	Rājmahal.	Goddā.	Zamindāri areas.	Dāmin-i-koh.	District.
<i>Bhadoi</i>	16	16	16	15	8	4	13	9	12
<i>Aghani</i>	27	28	43	41	39	89	87	28	86
<i>Rabi (boro)</i>	...	...	...	..	1	...	...	...	..
Total	43	44	59	56	48	43	50	37	47

The next most important crop is maize or Indian-corn, the *Maize*, proportion of which varies from 12 per cent. in Rājmahāl to 4 per cent. in Jāmtārā, and from 13 per cent. in the Dāmin-i-koh to 8 per cent. in zamindāri estates. In the whole district it is cultivated on about one-eleventh of the cropped area.

Wheat and barley are found mainly in the country east and north of the hills in the Pākaur, Rājmahāl and Goddā subdivisions, and gram mostly in the Goddā subdivision. *Marud* pulses. *Kodo*, on the other hand, is grown extensively in the Government estate and to a very limited extent outside. *Bājra* is a favourite crop of the Pahārias, who grow it on the hill sides, and in the Dāmin-i-koh it occupies no less than 7 per cent. of the total cropped area.

Linseed is found mainly in Pākaur, Rājmahāl and Goddā, *Oil-seeds*. where it usually forms a second crop to rice. Mustard is more evenly distributed. It is a favourite second crop on homestead lands that have been cultivated in the autumn with maize. Its distribution therefore closely follows the distribution of maize. Sesamum or *til*, an *aghani* oil-seed, is grown on nearly 24,000 acres.

Cotton is grown on 12,349 acres, but is more or less confined *Fibres*. to the Deoghar and Dūnka subdivisions. The total area under jute is only 1,512 acres and under hemp 1,190 acres.

Sugarcane (5,100 acres) is grown mostly in the Deoghar *Other*. subdivision. Among other miscellaneous crops may be mentioned condiments and spices (1,415 acres), *kusum* (2,270 acres), opium (20 acres), coffee (11 acres), tea (19 acres), tobacco (1,379 acres), fodder crops (285 acres), *kharaul* (7,812 acres), potatoes (506 acres) and indigo (36 acres).

The statistics obtained in the course of Mr. McPherson's *EXTEN-*
settlement show that, roughly speaking, one-half of the district *SION AND
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is cultivated, one-fourth is cultivable and one-fourth uncultivable, and also that about one eighth of the cultivated area is twice-cropped. Of the subdivisions Jāmtārā appears to be the most backward, for only 41 per cent. of the total area is cultivated, though it has the largest proportion of cultivable land. Goddā is the most advanced, for nearly 60 per cent. is cultivated, and it also contains by far the largest proportion of twice-cropped land. Deoghar is next to Jāmtārā the least advanced subdivision in point of agricultural development.

In the district, as a whole, the cultivated area has increased within the last 30 years by no less than 66 per cent. (84 per cent.

in the zamindari estates and 36 per cent. in the Dāmin-i-koh), the rice-growing area increasing by 72 per cent. and the upland area by 61 per cent. The process has been well described by Mr. H. McPherson. "The Santal is a born reclaimer. He has an eye which is expert to take advantage of the inequalities that exist in the surface of the country. He knows where to throw his cross-*bāndhs* and where to make his terraces. He loves to clear jungle, and in areas that are now almost Hindu he has often been the pioneer. In the areas that are left to him, beyond which there is no further advance to be made, he has been protected against encroachment and against the consequences of his own folly by a paternal Government, and he has settled down with intent to stay and to continue the work of improvement and reclamation begun by him. In the older areas, from which he moved on at an earlier date, he seems to have done the first clearing of jungle and the first rough shaping of slopes and levels. The more civilized Bengali, Bihāri and up-country immigrant came at his heels, pushed him off the land by force, cajolery and trickery, seized upon his improvements, and by the application of larger capital or steadier labour developed the embryo *bāndhs* and tanks into works of considerable size. In many villages one finds magnificent reservoirs which retain their supply of water throughout the driest years. They have often been begun by Santals and finished by others."

Not only has the area under cultivation been extended, but the productive powers of the soil have been increased as the result of terracing the higher lands, by which the lower lands are improved. The work of reclamation and improvement goes on simultaneously, e.g., when a Santal reclaims the bed of a stream, terrace~~s~~ high *lāri* lands, or constructs embankments across depressions. The lands which are prepared by terracing are usually inferior rice lands whose crop is precarious, but they benefit the lands immediately below by retaining some portion of the annual rainfall in the higher levels. Year after year the ryot goes on raising the side walls (*ails*) of his fields, and year by year a greater supply of water is retained. Lands lying below, which used to be third class, thus become second class, and the second class lands are improved into first class fields. The result is a largely increased outturn, for in a good year an acre of third class land produces from 10' to 15 maunds of paddy, an acre of second class land from 15 to 30 maunds, and an acre of first class land from 25 to 40 maunds. In years of deficient rainfall, the gain is still greater; for while first class land will produce a '12 to 16-annas crop, second class land will not yield more than 8 to 12

annas, and on third class land the crop will not reach even 4 annas of a full crop.

Among the Maler in the north of the Rājmahāl Hills the primitive practice of *jiām* or *kurāo* cultivation still persists, and is almost the only kind of cultivation. The *jhūms* are regularly re-made after intervals of five years, and it is said that except near the Ganges, where there is some rough conservancy carried out by the Maler themselves for the sake of fire-wood which they sell, or where the fear of demons has caused the desertion of a village, the *jhūms* from a distance present as regular an appearance as the corn-stubbles of English uplands, being broad, regular and continuous, and not merely irregular patches in young forest. *Jhūming* is practised on the sloping hill-sides only, and on most hill tops there is some extent of level surface that is cultivated in the ordinary way. Under this system there is practically no rice cultivation. For example, the settlement statistics show that in 87 Pahāria villages in the Pākaur Dāmin, out of an area of 27,652 acres, 4,434 acres were *jhūmed*, while 6,589 acres were left for the extension of *jhūms*; 4,137 acres were upland *bārī*; and only 272 acres were under rice.

Of the fruits common in the district the *mahuā* (*Bussia latifolia*) and *kondra* (*Bauhinia purpurea*) are of special importance as affording food in years of scanty rainfall. The flowers of the former are a popular article of diet; the tender leaves of the latter are largely consumed as pot-herbs. The ryots, in the greater part of the district, are entitled to enjoy the produce of *mahuā* trees free of payment under the provisions of the record-of-rights, which contains a clause stating that all the *jamābandi* ryots and poor residents of a village are entitled to enjoy rent-free, to the extent of their domestic and agricultural requirements the produce of *mahuā* trees, whether growing on holdings, or on the village common lands, or in the reserved forests of the village. This privilege is not enjoyed by ryots in *pargana* Goddā of the Banaili Rāj where *mahuā* trees are assessed at one anna a tree payable by the ryot in enjoyment of the produce. The jack tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), which is very plentiful in the district, is also of importance, as its large green fruit when cooked affords a nourishing food; it is, in fact, said to be as valuable and prolific as the bread-fruit. Among other trees yielding food and largely used by Sāntāls may be mentioned the Indian horse-radish tree (*Moringa pterygosperma*). Yams, arums and sweet potatoes are also largely consumed, while the *buru rahar* (*Cynlopis psoralioides*) and *ghangra* (*Vigna Catjang*) succeed well in years of short rainfall.

FRUITS
AND
VEGE.
TABLES.

**AGRICUL-
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The following tables show (1) for the whole district the acreage under the principal crops and their proportion to the gross cropped area, and (2) for each subdivision statistics of areas and their proportions to the total area:—

Crops.	Acreage.	Percent- age.	Crops.	Acreage.	Percent- age.
Winter rice ...	667,217	35	Autumn rice ...	226,864	12
<i>Jowār</i> ...	8,808	...	<i>Marwā</i> ...	9,813	...
<i>Bajra</i> ...	48,335	2	Maize ...	168,782	9
Other cereals and pulses.	311,363	17	<i>Kodo</i> ...	21,600	1
<i>Til</i> ...	23,985	1	Other cereals and pulses.	6,252	...
Sugarcane ...	5,100	...	Non-food crops	1,947	...
Cotton ...	12,440	...			
Miscellaneous ...	7,796	...			
Total <i>Aghori</i> crops ...	1,080,044	56·5	Total <i>Bhadoi</i> crops.	429,758	22·5
Rice (<i>boro</i>) ...	4,416	...	Orchards and gardens.	5,679	...
Wheat ...	9,807	...			
Barley ...	21,650	1			
Gram ...	34,810	2	Total cropped area.	1,911,414	...
Other cereals and pulses.	172,042	9			
Linseed ...	31,218	2	Area cropped more than once.	217,057	6
Mustard ...	56,386	3			
Other oil-seeds.	23,817	1			
Other non-food crops.	41,787	2			
Total <i>Rabi</i> crops.	395,933	20	Net cropped area.	1,694,861	...

SUBDIVISION.	Net cropped area.		Current fallow.		CULTIVABLE AREA OTHER THAN CURRENT FALLOW.						AREA NOT AVAILABLE FOR CULTIVATION.					
					Old fallow.		Cultivable jungle, etc.		Total.		Water.		Other kinds.		Total.	
	Acres.	Percent- age.	Acres.	Percent- age.	Acres.	Percent- age.	Acres.	Percent- age.	Acres.	Percent- age.	Acres.	Percent- age.	Acres.	Percent- age.	Acres.	Percent- age.
Dumka	435,193	47	68,247	7	129,122	14	61,405	7	190,527	25	28,346	3	210,672	22	239,018	25
Deoghar	262,529	44	48,180	8	76,552	13	34,779	5	111,321	26	33,428	6	150,210	24	183,638	30
Jamtara	182,725	41	38,584	9	76,489	17	42,857	11	119,336	37	18,404	4	83,361	18	101,765	22
Pakaur	242,661	56	39,396	9	49,036	12	9,131	2	58,167	23	14,721	3	80,593	18	95,314	31
Rajmahal	231,735	56	21,093	6	29,047	7	12,895	2	41,872	15	12,129	3	111,839	26	123,968	29
Goddar	339,616	59	28,918	5	51,539	9	21,887	3	73,396	17	23,427	4	114,269	20	137,696	24
District Total ...	1,694,361	50	244,429	7	411,786	12	182,833	5	594,619	24	130,455	4	750,944	22	881,399	26

CHAPTER VII.

NATURAL CALAMITIES.

LIABILITY TO FAMINE. THERE have been three famines in the Santal Parganas within little more than half a century, and in each case famine was due to the failure of the winter rice crop, which is the main staple of the district. Such failure is apt to occur owing to an early cessation of the rains, for it is estimated that 5 inches of rainfall are required in October for that crop and that, if the rainfall is less, the crop will be short and may be almost an entire failure. A certain amount of land is, however, protected against the vicissitudes of the seasons by irrigation. These protected lands consist of old rice fields laid out in ravines or depressions, which are generally fed by reservoirs at their heads or supplied by springs under the high banks throughout their length. Their fertility is extraordinary. The stalks are left long when the rice is cut; buffaloes are then turned in to graze on them, and when the land gets drier, other cattle. The fields are thus thoroughly manured, and it has been proved by experiment that they yield sometimes as much as 40 maunds of cleaned rice per acre. Of late years, however, the proportion of unprotected land has increased owing to the extension of rice cultivation to many ridges and uplands, which formerly were considered unfit for it. The result is that considerable areas which used to produce dry crops, like maize and millets, on which the people lived—though in years of plenty these grains were unsaleable—have now been turned into poor rice lands for the sake of the larger profits which rice yields.

On the other hand, the resources of the people in time of famine have been largely added to by the number of *mahuā* trees which have sprung up within the last 30 years. •In 1879 it used to be said that it was impossible to find a young *mahuā* tree in the Santal Parganas, whereas the country is now covered with young trees of bearing age—the result of Sir George Campbell's settlements, under which the produce was recorded as the common property of the villages, while the trees remained the property of the zamindārs. Also, in time of scarcity, the labouring

classes find relief in emigration, which not only takes away those who are in want, but also induces those employers who require labour to do something to keep labourers at home. Another feature which is noticeable when there is scarcity is the extent to which the aborigines of the district, such as Santals, Paharias and Bhuiyās, can supplement their scanty fare by fruits and roots, or even support life on jungle products. The contrast in this respect between them and the inhabitants of other districts in Bihār has been described as follows by Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., formerly Commissioner of the Bhāgalpur Division, with reference to the famine of 1897.

"Another fact again made prominent by the scarcity is how much smaller is the margin which separates from absolute want the self-respecting and decent-looking people of Hindustān with their fastidiousness and strict religious observance and those aboriginal or degraded races on the border, whose normal condition is one of dirt and rags, and whose villages and huts are pictures of squalor and apparent misery. The Bauris of the Santal Parganas are the most prominent example. They can use animal food and even carrion, and can sustain life by jungle products unknown in the more popular and civilized tracts. These degraded races are also far more averse to the regular toil by which wages can be earned by relief works than the Hindu and Muhammadan peasantry, and only resort to them in the last extremity and when their children have already suffered from starvation. The races in the north, with whom they are contrasted, take with the greatest order their places on the relief work, as if by signal, when the time has come; and are careful to see that, however low the wages and rigorous the tests, that time is not postponed till their children have begun to suffer or they themselves have been reduced to apathy and inability to do the tasks by which their food is to be earned." The justice of this account was proved by the experience of 1897, when the Bauris and other semi-Hinduized aborigines in the Jāntārā subdivision continued to protest against the rigour of test works and generally to give trouble, declaring that they would rather die in their houses than toil on relief works in the sun.

The following is a brief account of the famines which have FAMINES. visited the Santal Parganas since the district was constituted.

In 1866 famine was caused by the failure of the winter rice crop, of which the outturn was only half to three-fourths of the average. The *bhadoi* crop was, on the whole, not below the average, but food stocks had been depleted by large exports of it, and the *rabi* crop was a poor one. In July 1866 the price of

common rice rose to $7\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee, and in August to $6\frac{1}{2}$ seers, but there was an abundant harvest of mango and *mahuā*, which afforded food to thousands. The people, however, were forced to eat the fruit while still unripe, and the numbers of those who consequently died from cholera were counted by thousands.

Famine
of 1874.

The rainfall during 1873 was very unequally distributed, varying from 52 inches at Dumkā to 24 inches at Rājmahāl, and the harvests exhibited degrees of variation corresponding to the capriciousness of the rainfall. The *bhadoi* crop, including maize, millets and pulses, which are less sensitive to abnormal variations of weather than rice, yielded three-fourths of an average outturn, but the winter rice crop was only half an average crop. The outturn was worst in the flat rice-producing lands of Rājmahāl, where also the rainfall was most deficient; here only one-fourth of an average crop was harvested. In the Deoghar subdivision half an average crop was saved, while in Dumkā the outturn was nine-sixteenths of the average. The *rati* crop, moreover, afforded no material help, for it could not be sown on more than one-quarter of the area usually devoted to cold weather crops, and even in this reduced area the yield was poor. "But" wrote Mr. A. P. (now Lord) MacDonnell, "what Nature denied to agricultural skill and industry, she to some extent granted unsolicited. The *mahuā* tree, which studs the Santal hills and uplands, yielded a bounteous crop of edible blossoms and seeds; the mango fruit, though less abundant last year in Santalia than in more northern regions, was still plentiful, and brought a sensible addition to the food-supply of a simple people who live much on wild fruits and herbs".*

The area most severely affected was the Rājmahāl subdivision, and after it Godda and Dumkā. To judge by the number of labourers employed on relief works, it would seem that very little or no distress existed in the Deoghar subdivision. The marginal table shows the aggregate number of persons employed on relief

Dumkā	...	756,480	work in each of the four subdivisions then
Deoghar	...	15,660	constituting the district. The average daily
Rājnahāl	...	1,896,740	attendance was highest in June, when it
Godda	...	938,940	amounted to 7,039, while the average daily
Total	...	3,107,820	number relieved gratuitously was highest
			towards the end of August, when it was
			3,511.

Famine
of 1897.

In 1896 the rainfall was not only deficient but also unfavourably distributed. There was a drought which lasted till May, a break

* *Food-grain supply and Famine Relief in Bihar and Bengal (1876).*

in the rains from the 20th July to the 20th August, which spoiled the hopes of the *bhadoi*, and a final drought from the 24th September to the 31st December 1896. After that date there was good rain, and the weather became particularly favourable to agricultural prospects, though not to all standing crops. Unfortunately, however, not one in 20 mango trees flowered, whilst the *mahuā* blossoms were injured by storms in March, so that the produce was only from a half to two-thirds of the average. The result of the year's crops was that the outturn of the *bhadoi* crop was only 10 annas, and that of winter rice only 8 annas. The early cessation of the rains and the absence of moisture for the cold weather sowings also made the cold weather crops very short; in particular, the oil-seed proved almost a total failure. This followed on a bad season the year before, owing to the same cause—failure of the rains in October—and there was therefore a very short local supply. Owing moreover to the strong demand for grain up country, very high prices ruled, so that the local scarcity was intensified.

Famine was, however, only declared in two tracts in the southwest of the district, one in the Jāmtārā subdivision covering 367 square miles with a population of 93,000 persons, and the other consisting of the Deoghar subdivision with an area 954 square miles and a population of 284,114. Here there had been a failure of the upland rice and of other upland crops which could not be artificially irrigated except at prohibitive cost. In both areas the country is undulating, fertile valleys being interspersed with jungle and sterile uplands, and the streams which traverse it are practically hill torrents. The population, largely aboriginal, with a marked aversion to regular work, subsists almost wholly on agriculture, the all-important crop being the winter rice; spring crops are of small importance, and the proportion of *bhadoi* crops is less than elsewhere. Outside these areas there was distress in the Damin portion of the Rajmahāl subdivision, and in the Goddā subdivision generally, which was met by charitable relief.

For the purpose of carrying on relief operations, a special scheme of organization was prepared in January 1897, the basis of which was the utilization of the local agency by which so much of the district work is done. The principle of the plan was to divide each subdivision into charges, each under an officer of the grade of *kassango*, and to divide the charges into circles, which were placed under committees of headmen of villages and leading ryots. For each circle the necessary works were selected from the famine programme, and it was ascertained what traders

were ready to furnish a supply of food on payment. In the event of scarcity being found to prevail, the charge in which it prevailed was to have a special Superintendent with a sufficient staff, and the circle committees were to have lump sums of Rs. 10 monthly allowed them to cover expenses. The committees were to take the place of circle officers and to be superseded by such officers where necessary. This plan was sanctioned by Government and was followed in the subsequent operations.

For the distribution of gratuitous relief another special scheme was adopted. The plan was to issue tickets to deserving persons entitling them to receive grain doles from dealers appointed for the purpose. The tickets were divided into four parts, each for a week's food, and were not transferable. These tickets, after being exchanged for food with the dealer, were used as vouchers to his bill, and after it was checked, could be restored to the counterfoil and pasted in. This system proved very successful in reducing account work.

The highest average attendance on relief works was reached in Jāmtārā in the week ending 21st May 1897 and in Deoghar in the week ending 26th June 1897, when the daily average numbers were 3,258 and 1,647 respectively. After this, when the season for ploughing and cultivation came on, there was much fluctuation in the attendance ; but in both subdivisions the relief works were finally closed on the 15th August, when the gathering of the Indian corn and *mahua* crops enabled the able-bodied to find employment. In Jāmtārā the Government relief works consisted exclusively of roads with irrigation dams, where these could be made, on the line of road. In Deoghar the principal work was the excavation of tanks and making of reservoirs, but as the rainy season approached, road improvement was also begun. All the works were carried out by the civil works agency and none by the Public Works Department. In Jāmtārā relief works were begun with the task-work system of the Famine Code, but piece-work was introduced after the 1st week of June 1897. In Deoghar piece-work alone was adopted. The total number of workers was 263,375 in Jāmtārā and 80,453 in Deoghar ; and the aggregate number of persons gratuitously relieved from Government funds was 523,614.

FLOODS.

Owing to the completeness of the natural drainage of the district, floods are almost impossible over a large area, but narrow stretches of land in the valleys, and considerable portions of the alluvial country lying between the Ganges and the Rajmahāl Hills, are liable to inundation when the rivers are swollen by sudden rain. In the former tract of country, however, the floods

subside after a few days, leaving the crops uninjured ; while in the alluvial country any damage done to the lowland crops is compensated by the additional fertility of the high lands.

The only destructive flood within recent years is that which ^{Flood of} 1899. occurred early in the morning of Sunday, the 24th September 1899. This flood was caused by very heavy local rainfall, which began on the afternoon of the 23rd. It continued raining all that night, and the wind, which first blew from the south-east, veered round through south, south-west and west, till in the early hours of Sunday the 24th it became a hurricane from the north-west. The rain gauge at Goddā registered 10·12 inches of rain at 8 A.M. that morning, and it ceased raining there at about 10 A.M. The rainfall extended all over the country from Bhāgalpur and the Ganges on the north to the Santal Parganas on the south and Rājmahāl on the east ; but the centre of the storm appears to have been on the northern slopes of the Dāmin-i-koh in the Goddā subdivision, a hilly tract draining through narrow valleys into the low-lying land south of the Ganges. These slopes discharged an enormous volume of water, for which the river channels, raised above the level of the plain, could not provide sufficient outlet. The swollen rivers swept away the hamlets lying in their upland valleys, and uniting their volume below, poured over the villages in the low lands. Fortunately, the Ganges was low, and the floods, widening the outlets through the bridge on the East Indian Railway, passed away rapidly.

The loss of life was deplorably great both in the Santal Parganas and Bhāgalpur. The rivers rose soon after midnight, and in the uplands the villagers were still asleep, and were swept away without the warning that would have enabled them to reach higher ground. The velocity of the flood in its earlier course is shown by the fact that, though 881 men were drowned there, only 69 bodies were recovered. When it reached the plains, the dawn was breaking, and the wall of the advancing waters could be plainly seen. There was, however, no place of refuge on the treeless level, and there no less than 762 persons perished. Thus in all, 1,643 lives were lost, many families wholly disappeared, and in some cases entire hamlets left no trace behind. The loss of property was happily less severe, for though 246 villages were injured, 25,555 huts destroyed, 13,705 cattle and goats drowned, and altogether 123 square miles exposed to the violence of the flood, yet the water passed away so rapidly, that the crops were saved.

In the Santal Parganas 95 villages and upwards of 10,000 huts were destroyed or damaged, 881 lives were lost, and 6,000 cattle

were drowned. The floods came down 10 rivers in the Godda subdivision, viz , the Chir, Gonkha, Kajia, Bheria, Parna, Harna, Rajdar, Ainchha, Sundar and Khuti. Of these, the Chir is known as the Gerua after it has received the waters of the Gonkha, Kajia Parna, Harna and Bheria ; and the next largest river is the Kajia ; but the Harna and the Khuti were responsible for the greatest damage. The severity of the flood was all the greater because the banks of most of the rivers are higher than the surrounding country, which consequently became flooded to a great depth. In many cases, indeed, a wall of water poured through the villages, averaging from 5 to 12 feet, and the Khuti river was described as being a moving sea. Some idea of its volume may be gathered from the fact that though the flood in this river came down between 5 and 6 A. M., when it was getting light and people were astir, no less than 267 persons were drowned and only 2 dead bodies were recovered.

In spite of the extent of the disaster, but little relief was required. The people, in a spirit of sturdy independence, refused charitable relief except for the immediate needs of the moment and preferred to obtain assistance in the form of loans. Those whose crops were destroyed, and whose fields were covered with sand, declined the proffered alms and turned to sow the sand with castor oil and linseed. In all, only Rs. 1,350 were expended in charity and Rs. 5,982 were advanced under the Agriculturists' Loans Act.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORESTS.*

THE State forests of the Santal Parganas are situated in the HISTORY. Dāmīn-i-koh, a Goverment estate which was administered direct by Government from 1765 onwards and was excluded from the Permanent Settlement. The early position of Government towards this estate was defined in a resolution recorded by the Government of India in 1823 on the report of Mr. Sutherland. In that resolution it was laid down that the excesses to which the hill people were driven by the cruelty of the zamindārs and others to whom they had been abandoned, had obliged Government to resume the entire tract and bring it under its direct management. Government thus succeeded to all the rights previously held by the zamindārs, the inhabitants of both the hills and the adjacent forests becoming its direct tenants ; the claims of the zamindars to the forests were specifically set aside ; and the right of property in the Dāmīn-i-koh was declared to be at the disposal of the State.

In accordance with this declaration, Government assessed rents on cultivation, but went no further, and in 1862, when the question arose of applying the waste land rules to the estate, the Commissioner held that though the Pahārias were clearly liable to pay rent wherever Government chose to demand it, they had rights accruing from long occupation. Indeed, Government having been satisfied in 1823 with the mere declaration of its rights, and having never enforced them, the Pahārias had come to consider as a right what had been conceded as an indulgence, and had bought and sold the hills as if they were their own property. In these circumstances, the local Government was of opinion that Government could not sell the hills on which the Pahārias lived, or which they cultivated ; and that if uninhabited hills were granted in order that they might be reclaimed and cultivated, the grants

* A note contributed by Mr. A. H. Mee, formerly in charge of the Santal Parganas, Forest Division, forms the basis of this account.

could only be made in accordance with some special arrangement to be come to with the Pahārias. The Government of India then decided that the claim of the hillmen to the occupancy of the uninhabited hills in which they derived an income from jungle produce, and which they might at any time bring into cultivation, was too substantial a claim, and had been too distinctly recognized by Government, to be set aside in favour of new purchasers.

In 1871 a scheme for demarcating Goverment forests in the estate was brought forward, and an officer was deputed to examine them. According to his report, the area suitable for conservancy was estimated at 200 square miles, but the scheme was abandoned, as it was thought an inopportune time to introduce the Forest Act and Rules owing to the unrest among the Santals. In 1875, the then Lieutenant Governor, Sir Richard Temple, again took up the question of conservancy, on the ground that Government had a valuable forest property, which it not only failed to develop properly, but allowed to be cut and wasted recklessly. It was, accordingly, determined to apply the Forest Act and Rules to a portion of the estate ; and Dr. Schlich, then Conservator of Forests, recommended, as the result of enquiries made by one of his officers, that a tract south of the Bansloï river (with an estimated area of 40 square miles) should be constituted reserved forest and managed by the Forest Department. This proposal involved the transplantation of 48 Pahāria villages and was vigorously opposed by the local civil officers ; but, in spite of their protests, Government issued a notification on the 10th July 1876 declaring this tract (now known as the "Old Reserve" with an area of 36 square miles) to be a reserved forest governed by the provisions of Act VII of 1865. It was subsequently discovered that that Act had not been extended to the Santal Parganas, but this defect was remedied by a notification of the 24th July 1876.

Next year the Old Reserve was transferred from the Forest Department to the management of the Deputy Commissioner and the policy to be pursued was laid down as follows :— "The Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that it is not politic or expedient to introduce a strict system of conservancy into the reserved forest tract in the Santal Parganas. His Honour, therefore, directs that the conservancy of these forests shall rest with the civil officers, who will carry out a rough system of conservancy, preserving the valuable parts of the forests from destruction and regulating the cutting of trees within the boundary of the reserved tract." The officer selected for the administration of this system was Mr. Cossarat, who in

1878 drew up rules for the management of the reserved forest and in 1879 made a settlement of the forest villages. In accordance with his recommendation, Government in 1880 prohibited the cutting of *sal* trees in the settled area of the Dāmin-i-koh, except where the Deputy Commissioner sanctioned felling for the purposes of reclamation. Next year the question of extending the system of conservancy was further considered. It was found that the only Pahārias who had forest rights of importance, and who were largely dependent on *jhūm* cultivation, were the Maler in the north of the Rājmāhāl Hills, where there was no forest worth reserving. All the valuable forest lay to the south of the river Bansloi, where *jhūming* had practically ceased. It was, therefore, decided that all attempts at conservancy in the Maler country north of the Bansloi should be given up and that the whole wood-bearing area in the Māl Pahāria country to the south should be constituted either reserved or open Government forest.

Accordingly, in 1881 the Old Reserve was notified as a reserved forest under Act VII of 1865, and all other waste lands in *tappas* Mārpal, Daurpal and Kumārpal (constituting the Māl Pahāria country), which were covered with trees or jungle, were declared to be open forest, *sal*, *asān*, *sīsu*, *satsal*, fruit and other trees especially marked for preservation being reserved. In 1883 Mr. J. S. Gamble, who, as Conservator of Forests, had examined the forests in the Santāl Pārganas the year before, proposed that they should be made protected forests and that their management should be made over to the Forest Department, the officers of which were to work under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner. This proposal was supported by the local officers, and the Indian Forest Act (VII of 1878), which took the place of Act VII of 1865, was extended in 1886 to the Santāl Pārganas by Regulation III of that year. From that time the "Old Reserve" ceased to be a reserved forest.

Eventually, in 1894 all land, the property of Government, which had not been settled with cultivators, was constituted protected forest under the Indian Forest Act, subject to all existing rights of individuals or communities in the Sauriā country, i.e., the hilly tract inhabited by the Maler or Sauriā Pahārias, which covers the Dāmin-i-koh throughout the Rājmāhāl subdivision and the north of the Goddā subdivision and is bounded on the south by the Torai river, Katni hill and Gangor river. The protected forests so formed were placed in charge of the Forest Department, a Deputy Conservator being posted to the district next year. The departmental system of management was, however, found not to be sufficiently elastic for

the Maler. Their *jhūm* cultivation was subjected to restrictions, the number of reserved trees was increased, and the removal and sale of timber and forest produce by them were subjected to stricter conditions. Accordingly, in December 1900 the Saurā tract, with the exception of 10 square miles of 'closed blocks', was transferred from the management of the Forest Department to that of the Deputy Commissioner and his Subdivisional Officers, the area so transferred being 143 square miles. The only administrative change of importance which has taken place since that year was the separation in 1904 of the Hazāribāgh forests from those of the Santal Parganas, which till then were managed as one division under the Forest Department.

**GENERAL
DESCRIPTION.**

The protected forests now under the management of the Forest Department constitute the Santal Parganas Forest Division. They have an area of 292 square miles and are situated in the Dumka, Godda and Pākaur subdivisions. The best and most heavily wooded portion consists of the "Old Reserve" in the Dumkā subdivision, which extends over 36 square miles and is situated in hilly country having an elevation of 600 to 1,700 feet. In this tract three or four square miles are under cultivation or may be cultivated at the will of the occupants, but the remaining portion is nearly all wooded and is closed to cultivation. In the remaining forests the growth is, as a rule, poor, but some portions are well wooded and contain trees of considerable value, among which *sāl* predominates. The forests nearly all occupy hilly country, consisting of hill ranges with gentle slopes and broad rounded crests, and of intervening valleys, which are usually broad. The soil is fairly fertile and deep, but patches of much cut-up country, on which the soil is poor and the growth scant and stunted, occur throughout the Division, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of the hills outside the "Old Reserve".

In all the forest area *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) is found in greater or less abundance, usually accompanied by *kend* (*Diospyros Melanoxyylon*), which, however, never attains useful size, and, in the Old Reserve, by bamboos (*Dendrocalamus strictus*). Over a considerable portion of the area *sāl* is represented by scattered poles and trees up to, and in some cases over, 5 feet in girth, this being usually the case on the upper slopes and crests of the ridges. Here also are situated most of the cultivated lands some of which still contain a fair number of trees 3 feet and upwards in girth. In the valleys and along the lower slopes poles of *sāl* and other trees are, generally speaking, far more dense, but

the crop rarely consists of pure *sāl*, and trees of that species with a girth of 3 feet are scarce.

Twenty-three species of trees have been reserved under section 29 of the Forest Act, i.e., they may not be cut, except when under 2 feet in girth, without the written permission of the Forest Officer. Of these the most important, next to *sāl*, are *āsan* (*Terminalia tomentosa*), *murga* (*Pterocarpus Marsupium*), ebony (*Diospyros Melanoxylon*), *satsal* (*Dalbergia latifolia*), *kusum* (*Schleichera Trijuga*), and *Ougeinia dalbergioides*, the last two species being rare. The unreserved trees most commonly met with are *parop* (*Buchanania latifolia*), *hat* (*Holarrhena antidysenterica*), *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, *Woodfordia floribunda* and *Croton oblongifolius*. Bamboos are abundant in parts, mostly on the upper slopes and crests of ridges, but few are found in the forests outside the Old Reserve, though a moderate number are obtainable from the hilly parts of the Pākaur and Goddā ranges. *Sabai* grass (*Ischaemum angustifolium*) and a coarse form of thatching grass, known locally as *khar*, are found in similar localities and in the depressions on the higher slopes and the summits of the hills.

The most important minor products are the corolla of the flower and the fruit (*kerchra*) of the *mahuā* tree (*Bassia latifolia*). The former, which is fleshy and sweet, is eaten either raw or cooked, and a coarse spirit is also prepared from it. The outer coat of the latter is eaten raw or cooked, the inner coat is dried and ground into flour, while from the kernel a greenish oil or butter is obtained, which is used for adulterating *ghī*. The propagation of silk cocoons is carried on to a considerable extent, the tree most used being the *āsan*. The product of the lac insect is also propagated in large quantities throughout the forests lying outside the Old Reserve, the trees used for the purpose being the *palās* (*Butea frondosa*) and the *bair* (*Zizyphus Jujuba*). Other minor products are:—the fruit of the *amlā* (*Phyllanthus Emblica*), *baherā* (*Terminalia belerica*) and *harrā* (*Terminalia Chebula*), the fruit of a creeper known as *triphalā*, the fruit of the tamarind, *sabai* grass, *ghuting* or *kankar*, i.e., the calcareous nodules used for metalling roads, white clay, building stone, and coke and coal of inferior quality.

The forests under the management of the Forest Department are divided into three ranges. The Dumkā Dāmin Range, which includes the Old Reserve, is managed by a Forest Ranger with the help of a Forester and eleven guards, one for each of the "Bungalows" or revenue divisions in which the forests are situated. The Geddā and Pākaur Ranges are managed by a Deputy Ranger.

and Forester with seven and eleven guards respectively, one guard being allowed for the forests of each "Bungalow." Several *hâts* or markets are specially set apart for the sale of minor products by the ryots, and of timber removed from *jhûms* or *kurâs* areas by Pahâris. There are four such *hâts* in the Dumkâ Damin, two in the Goddâ Dâmin, and five in the Pâkaur Dâmin; all the *hâts* are farmed out to lessees. The entire staff, permanent and temporary, is under the control of the Divisional Forest Officer, whose headquarters are at Dumkâ. The power to frame rules for the management of the forests rests, however, with the Deputy Commissioner, and no land may be cleared for cultivation without his permission given in writing.

No systematic plan for the development of the forests outside the Old Reserve has yet been attempted owing to their distribution and the uncertainty regarding the extent to which the exercise of rights (*e.g.*, of grazing) in them can be regulated. The forests have simply been protected, and fellings have been carefully regulated to meet the requirements of the Government ryots, that being the main purpose which they now serve. In the Sauriâ tract situated in the Goddâ Dâmin the forests are closed to both cutting and grazing, but infringements of the rules to this effect are of frequent occurrence. The Old Reserve has been worked on a more or less continuous and systematic plan since it came under the management of the Forest Department in May 1895. Along the lower slopes, where there is a comparatively dense growth of more or less pure *sâl*, and where the poles rarely exceed three feet in girth, yearly fellings on the "coppice by standard system" have been carried out, the area dealt with being regulated by the demand. This area has of recent years been gradually increased, and it is hoped that it will be possible to dispose of the produce of 100 acres yearly, as fresh markets are opened out. *Sâl* poles and fuel cut from such coppice fellings now find their way over the entire district and beyond its confines into outlying districts. It has been estimated that coppice shoots of *sâl* attain to an exploitable girth in the course of 30 to 40 years, which is the rotation fixed on. Yearly selection fellings of trees, five feet and over in girth, are also made over restricted areas to meet the demand for large timber, which is greatly in excess of the supply. The exploitable limit for trees removed under the selection fellings was until 1904-05 three feet, but is now five feet. The number of trees cut out yearly under this system of felling is, on an average, about 80. To meet the demand for bamboos, which are purchased by persons from all parts of the district, the forests containing them have been

divided up into three parts, which are worked in rotation, 300,000 to 500,000 bamboos being cut annually; depôts for their sale are fixed every year.

All ryots of the Dāmin-i-koh Government estate having occupancy rights are entitled to the privileges accorded to ryots by Regulation III of 1872 in the protected forests of the Division inclusive of the Old Reserve area. All cultivating ryots of the estate can remove free of charge trees of any unreserved species for their own use from forest areas situated within their village boundaries. The grazing of cattle and the removal of fuel and fodder from forests within their respective village boundaries are also permitted free of charge. Trees of the specially reserved species (numbering in all 23) are sold to the villagers from their village forests at half the ordinary rates in force, and trees of the unreserved kinds, if taken from areas other than their village forests, are paid for at half the scheduled rates. Further, the entire area comprised within the protected forests may be thrown open to them in times of scarcity. For their part, the ryots and the village headmen are responsible for the protection of the forests within their jurisdictions, and are required to help in forest management when called on to do so.

The privilege of selling minor forest products at *hats* specially set apart for this purpose was granted to all ryots of the Government estate at the last settlement, and Paharia ryots are specially privileged to remove trees of the unreserved species, under two feet in girth, from their respective village forests for sale at localized *hats*. In the Goddā and Pākaur Dāmin special areas have been set apart for Pahāria ryots for the purpose of *kurdo* or shifting cultivation. From such areas they are permitted to take trees, both reserved and unreserved, up to two feet in girth to the nearest *hat* for sale or barter. Pahārias resident in the Dumkā Dāmin are not allowed to practise shifting cultivation. The practice was stopped some 20 years back, and the same prohibition holds good in regard to certain forest blocks in the Goddā Dāmin Range, known locally as the "closed blocks", which are situated within the Karmatārh, Rajabhitha and Simrā "Bungalows" of the Goddā subdivision.

There is no regular system of fire conservancy in force. *Parganaits*, or the heads of all the villages of a "Bungalow", with the help of the villagers, are required to clear boundary lines and render assistance in the event of a fire breaking out in the forest near their villages. Rules for the protection of the forests from fire are framed by the Deputy Commissioner. The protection from fire of the forests of the Old Reserve and the closed blocks

of the Goddā Dāmīn is the most important feature of this work, and has been fairly effectively carried out by *parganais*, headmen and villagers, under the supervision of the Forest Ranger in the case of the Old Reserve, and of the Deputy Ranger in charge of the Range in the case of the closed blocks. Villagers have everywhere the right to graze their cattle both inside and outside those forests in all places where they are by custom entitled to graze, but the grazing of goats and sheep is not permitted.

CHAPTER IX.

RENTS, WAGES AND PRICES.

THE rent system in the Santal Parganas differs from that prevalent in the Regulation districts of Bengal, because, under the provisions of the Santal agrarian law, rents are settled by officers of Government; when once settled they remain unchanged for a period of 15 years unless enhancement is allowed by the Deputy Commissioner on account of improvements effected by or at the expense of the proprietor; and on the expiry of that period they cannot be altered except by officers of Government working under its direct control. The first special rent law of the Santal Parganas was Regulation III of 1872, which was the result of an agrarian agitation directed chiefly against excessive and arbitrary enhancement of rents by the zamindars. This Regulation empowered Government to order a settlement by which the rents payable by ryots and headmen could be fixed at 'fair and equitable' rates, and by section 19 provided that the rents fixed at the first settlement should remain unchanged for not less than 7 years and thenceforward until a fresh settlement or agreement should be made. In accordance with these provisions a settlement was carried out by Mr. Browne Wood between 1872 and 1879, which was of such importance in the economic history of the district that it may be described at some length.

The settlement of the zamindari estates was completed by November 1878, the rules and principles observed in this part of the operations being as follows:—(1) In 'community' or Santal villages no detailed measurement of the holdings was attempted, but the total area of the village was estimated by local inspection, the system being called *nazar paimāish*, or measurement by sight. In non-community villages, inhabited by Bengalis and others, a measurement of each man's holding was carried out, unless there

had been previous measurements of recent date by which the parties were willing to abide. (2) The lands of each village were classified and assessed at varying rates according to the crops grown on them, the best low or rice lands being placed in the first class, and the least productive high lands in the last class. (3) The rental to be paid to the zamindár by the lessee or headman of the village was fixed at the aggregate of the total assessments on the different classes of land. (4) Existing rents were as nearly as possible maintained, provided they did not vary much from the rates prevailing in neighbouring villages. (5) In non-community villages the amount due from each cultivator was fixed by the Settlement Department; but in Santal villages only a lump assessment for the entire village was made, and the headman and ryots were required to ascertain, by means of a *panchayat*, the quantity of land of each class held by the villagers individually, and to distribute the village assessment accordingly. This system was found to work badly, and the officers had generally to interpose in order to have the distribution of the rent completed (6) In addition to the rental fixed by the Settlement Officer, the village headman or lessee was declared entitled to levy a commission on each ryot's assessment, as compensation for his trouble in collecting the rents for the zamindár. The commission was reduced proportionately according to the quantity of land held by the headman for his own cultivation. This land was assessed in common with the other lands of the village, but the headman was permitted to hold rent-free, during the continuance of his lease all fresh lands brought under cultivation by himself, and to realize from the ryots half rents on similar lands reclaimed by them.

The results of the settlement in the zamindári estates may be thus summed up. The total rental realized by the zamindárs at the time of settlement (exclusive of cesses, which amounted to a very considerable amount) was Rs 9,96,613, while the total rental fixed by the Settlement Officer was Rs. 10,98,835, giving a clear increase of Rs. 1,02,222 in favour of the zamindárs. In spite of the increase of rent, the ryots received very substantial benefits from this settlement. Except in a few estates the rates of rent were found very moderate by the Settlement Officer, but they represented a portion only of the charges with which the ryots were burdened. In addition to rent, there was a multiplicity of cesses, which increased very considerably the amounts taken by the zamindárs. It was by disallowing these, and prohibiting their realization in future, that the settlement chiefly benefited the tenants. The total of the imposts of which they were thus

relieved cannot be estimated, but it was undoubtedly very large. The settlement, moreover, protected both headmen and ryots from enhancement at the zamindār's will, and secured them in the enjoyment of the rights attaching to their office and lands respectively, which were notified in the record-of-rights. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the endeavour to maintain as far as possible the existing rents resulted in a great unevenness of the incidence of rental, which, having been scarcely affected by subsequent resettlement, still persists and is likely to be more or less permanent.

The settlement of the Dāmin-i-koh was commenced immediately after the completion of the zamindāri portion of the district, and was brought to a close in September 1879. The estate had been previously settled in 1868, when the Government revenue was raised from Rs. 56,060 to Rs. 1,00,165, the total number of villages ascertained being 1,481. In Mr. Browne Wood's settlement 1,773 agricultural villages and 33 bazars were found and assessed, the total assessment being Rs. 1,77,495. In land revenue alone there was an increase of 80 per cent., but this large increase of revenue was due entirely to the extension of cultivation, and not to any enhancement of the rates of assessment. On the contrary, the average rent settled was a little less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas per *bighā*, whereas the rental of 1868 was estimated to give a general average of $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas per *bighā*.

As in the case of Santal villages in the zamindāri estates, no detailed measurement of every ryot's holding was carried out, but the lands of each village were measured and assessed as a whole, the distribution of the total rental among individual ryots being left to a *panchayat* of the villagers. The rates fixed for the different classes of land were less than those in the adjoining zamindāri estates, but the benefit of those rates was not extended to non-Santāl cultivators. The total cultivated area upon which revenue was assessed was 902,873 *bighās*, and the land revenue upon this amounted to Rs. 1,69,456. The balance of the receipts (Rs. 8,039) was derived from what were termed the "Sundry Mahāls" consisting of bazar and fishery rents, a *basauri* tax, i.e., a kind of ground rent levied from non-agricultural tenants, such as weavers and potters, and from a few shop-keepers and *mahajans*.

In 1886 an important change in the¹ rent law of the district was effected by the enactment of Regulation II of that year, which repealed section 19 of Regulation III of 1872, and provided that rents should not be changed except by the Deputy Commissioner in proceedings instituted under its provisions or by

the Settlement Officer in proceedings under Regulation III of 1872. It gave the Lieutenant-Governor power to order settlements under the latter Regulation from time to time, and laid down that rents settled under either Regulation should remain in force for 15 years and thenceforward until a fresh settlement was made. The latter provision was of especial importance, as it did away with the power of altering rents by contract and made it impossible for proprietors to enhance them except under the provisions of this or the older Regulation.

As soon as the new Regulation was passed, applications for a settlement revision began to come in from numerous proprietors. Their request was sanctioned, orders being passed that the cost of the work should be borne by the applicants themselves, and not, as at the first settlement, by Government. It was also decided that the revision settlement should be conducted under Regulation III of 1872 and not under Regulation II of 1886, which is better suited for small areas and individual villages than for the conduct of large settlements. The late Mr. Craven was appointed Settlement Officer in 1888 and completed the work of revision in 1894, an area of 1,579 square miles being dealt with. The revision of the settlement of the remainder of the district (except some small areas which have been excluded from the operations) was begun in 1899 and was completed in 1906, having been conducted by Mr. H. McPherson, i.c.s., except during the last 18 months of that period when the operations were in charge of Mr. H. Ll. L. Allanson, i.c.s., who has since taken up the resettlement of 1,579 square miles resettled by Mr. Craven in 1888-94. The latter operations, which form the first portion of the third resettlement of the district, are now in progress. Since the inception of the proceedings the rent law has been further amended by the enactment of Regulation III of 1907, by which the Deputy Commissioner may, during the currency of a settlement, allow an enhancement of rents on the ground of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, the proprietor.

Rent rates.

The rent settlement is based on a classification of soils, cultivable land being divided into five classes, viz., three kinds of *dhāni* or rice land and two kinds of *bāri* or high land. *Dhāni* lands are classified according to the degree in which they are protected from drought, viz., first class *dhāni*, which is well protected or irrigated, (2) second class *dhāni*, which is partially protected, (3) third class *dhāni*, which is unprotected, (4) first class *bāri* or land near homesteads, which is well manured and bears more than one crop in the year, and (5) second class *bāri*, including the remainder of the cultivation on dry uplands, which is not

manured and bears only one crop in the year. The average rent

Class of land.	Rent rate per acre.
	Rs. A.
First class <i>dhāni</i> ...	3 0
Second „ „ „	2 0
Third „ „ „	1 0
First „ <i>bāri</i> „ „	1 0
Second „ „ „	0 4

rates for each class of land as fixed at Mr. McPherson's settlement are shown in the margin. As the three classes of *dhāni* land are almost equally divided, while the proportion of first

class *bāri* to second class *bāri* is about 1 to 3, it follows that the average rice rate is about Rs. 2 per acre, and the average *bāri* rate about 8 annas. The aggregate assessment is Rs. 16,25,004; but one-sixth of the assessment has been wholly remitted for the currency of the settlement, in consequence of rules allowing remissions to prevent the hardship of heavy enhancements and to compensate ryots for improvements effected by them. As regards the improvements, the rules provided that if a ryot could prove that improvements in the class of his land had been caused by his own efforts during the currency of the expiring settlement, such exertion not being in the ordinary course of agriculture but a special undertaking, such as the making of a *bandh* to catch water, or the blocking and reclaiming of the bed of a watercourse, he might claim that the land in question should for the new settlement be placed in its natural class and not in the class to which it had been raised by his improvements. The following table gives the salient rent statistics of Mr. McPherson's settlement:—

	Zamindari estates.	Dāmin-i-koh.	Total.
Last settlement ryoti area ...	485,734 acres	276,291 acres	762,025 acres.
Present „ „ „ (assessed).	890,041 „	375,267 „	1,265,308 „,
Percentage of increase ...	84	36	66
Last settlement rent	Rs. 6,99,503	Rs. 1,67,191	Rs. 8,66,694 .
Average per acre ...	Re. 1-7-0	Re. 0-9-9	Re. 1-2-3
Existing rent	Rs. 7,73,157	Rs. 1,74,155	Rs. 9,47,312
Settlement rent for first five years.	„ 10,14,151	„ 2,48,858	„ 12,63,009
Average per acre ...	Re. 1-2-0	Re. 0-10-9	Re. 1-0-0
Settlement rent from 6th year	Rs. 10,70,025	Rs. 2,67,929	Rs. 13,37,954
Average per acre ...	Re. 1-3-0	Re. 0-11-6	Re. 1-1-0

The only areas in which *jamābandi* or occupancy ryots are assessed to rent for homestead lands are the *khas Bengali villages* homestead lands.

along the borders of the Birbhum, Murshidabad, and Malda districts. In *pargana* Sultânâbâd there is a curious custom by which each village pays a fixed sum for its homestead lands, the ryots themselves arranging what amounts shall be paid by the individual villagers. The total contribution amounts to Rs. 1,500, and is dedicated by the proprietor to the worship of Singhabâhîni, the tutelary goddess of the *pargana*. In other parts of the Bengali area there are fixed rates for homestead land, and the amount payable by each ryot is amalgamated with his ordinary agricultural rent. In the *k'âs* villages of *pargana* Muhammadâbâd, Brâhmans, Kâyasths, Baidyas, Râjputs, Vaisyas and Muhammadans are privileged classes exempted from the payment of homestead rents.

Bazar and basauri rents. The rents of non-agricultural tenants are called *basauri*, and there is a distinction between them and bazar rents, which, however, is more or less nominal. Where non-agriculturists are congregated together in bazars, they are called bazar tenants: when they are scattered about agricultural villages, they are called *basauri* tenants. The bazars of the Damin-i-koh were, in Mr McPherson's settlement, divided into 3 classes according to their importance, and rent rates varying from 3 annas to Re. 1 per *kathâ* were fixed for each class, according to the class of land and of its holder, traders paying different rents from artisans, labourers, etc. For *basauri* tenants outside bazars the rates were fixed at 6 annas per *kathâ* for traders and at 3 annas per *kathâ* for non-traders.

Bhâoli. Produce rents were at one time prevalent in the Goddâ subdivision, where, under the *bhâoli* system, the ryot retained half the produce of his land and made over the other half to his landlord, but at the first settlement, under the powers given to him by law, Mr. Wood abolished the system and substituted cash rents at village rates. "This system," writes Mr. W. B. Oldham "in its essence was one of temporary arrangements suitable for persons on terms of confidence, intimacy and equality, like friends and relatives, or agriculturists and their farm labourers, or among fellow villagers. But when these contracts were entered into as a permanent system between proprietors and alien tenants like the Sautâls, they were invariably attended with great abuses.. The abuses Mr. Wood discovered were allied to those attending the system of servitude by debtors, against which Sir William Robinson had waged war Mr. Wood substituted fair and equitable money rents."*

* Reprint of the Laws of the Santal Parganas.

After the first settlement the *bhdoli* system made its reappearance in the shape of contracts between ryots and their under-tenants. It was a convenient form of sub-lease for usurers, who during the first decade after Mr. Wood's settlement purchased ryoti rights, but were unable to cultivate the lands themselves. The growth of the practice was checked by the courts ruling that a ryot could not recover rent from his sub-lessee at higher than village rates, and later by the provisions of section 25 of Regulation II of 1836, which enabled the Deputy Commissioner to protect an actual cultivator from eviction. This section was applied to *bhāolidārs* until 1896, when Mr. W. B. Oldham, the then Commissioner, ruled that a *bhāolidār* was not protected by it and might be evicted by the courts without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner on the application of the original ryot, provided that such application was not to be granted till the *bhāolidār* had reaped his crop, and no demand of rent was to be enforceable through the courts.

At Mr. McPherson's settlement special orders were passed regarding the status of *bhāolidārs*. It was laid down that a *bhāolidār*, i.e., a person cultivating land and giving a share of the produce to his landlord as consideration, when holding under a ryot, was not ordinarily to be recognized as a sub-lessee or to be recorded at all, provided that when the *bhāolidār* had been cultivating the same land continuously for 12 years or upwards, or had been led to expect that his occupation would be permanent, he should be recorded as the *jamabandi* or occupancy ryot. Where the *bhāolidār* was a resident ryot paying *bhdoli* rent for land originally on the village *jamabandi* to a person who had not acquired a right of occupancy by actual cultivation of the land, the *bhāolidār* was recorded as the *jamabandi* ryot. Special rules were also laid down regarding *bhāolidārs* holding under *pradhāns* or under landlords in *khās* villages. It was provided that if the land held by the *bhāolidār* was such as the *pradhān* or landlord was bound to settle with the village ryots at settlement rates, the *bhāolidār* should be made a *jamabandi* ryot if he was a resident ryot or otherwise duly qualified to be a cultivating ryot of the village. If, however, he was an outsider who should not be admitted to the village, he was to be evicted and the land settled with duly qualified *jamabandi* ryots. Where the land held by the *bhāolidār* was the *pradhān*'s true private *jot* or the landlord's true *nij-jot*, *khās kdmāt* or *sir*, the *bhdoli* contract was not to be recognized at all. In its prohibition of sub-letting either on cash or produce rents, the settlement record makes an exception of temporary arrangements entered into by ryots for

the cultivation of their lands on account of sickness, loss of plough cattle, temporary absence and the like exigencies.

WAGES. The following table shows the rates of daily wages paid for different classes of labour in the last fortnight of March during the last 14 years :--

		1895.	1900.	1906.	1909.
		As. P.	As. P.	As. P.	As. P.
Masons ...	... { 4 0	2 6	2 6	5 0	
	{ to	to	to	to	
Carpenters ...	{ 8 3	10 0	10 0	12 0	
	{ 4 0	2 6	2 6	5 0	
Coolies (male adult) ...	{ to	to	to	to	
	{ 8 9	10 0	10 0	10 0	
Coolies (female adult)	{ 2 3	2 0	2 0	2 0	
	{ to	to	to	to	
	{ 2 6	3 0	3 6	3 0	
	{ 1 6	1 3	1 3	1 6	
	{ to	to	to	to	
	{ 1 6	2 3	2 0	2 0	

On the whole, there has been a rise in the wages paid for labour during recent years, largely owing to the increasing demand for labourers caused by the extension of building operations, especially in Madhupur and Deoghar, and also by the opening of new railway lines, stone quarries and lac factories. The system of paying labourers in kind is common, particularly in the case of landless labouring cultivators called *krishans* to whom the owner of the land gives one-third of the produce. Advances made to them are deducted at the *derhi* rate in the case of paddy, i.e., the cultivator repays $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers at harvest time for each seer advanced to him at the time of cultivation, while cash advances bear interest of 20 per cent. per annum.

Supply of labour.

The following account of the supply of labour in the Santal Parganas is quoted from a report submitted by the Deputy Commissioner in August 1907. "Labourers migrate from the Santal Parganas in large numbers annually, some to a distance for long periods, others to neighbouring districts for short spells, while field-work at their homes is slack. The tea gardens of Assam and Bengal have a great attraction for the people of this district; and the sturdy Paharias and industrious Santals alike make excellent tea garden coolies. Both resent too much restraint and require tactful management, which, however, is well repaid. They expect frequent holidays, but while at work

they labour hard. Their favourite drink, *pachawai*, at times renders them unfit for work, but it is thought by some to be a preventive against malaria. The coal-mines are in ill-repute with the Santal, for many a cooly has been lured to Rāniganj by promises of well-paid work, and thence hurried off to Assam against his wish. Prejudices die hard, and it may be long before this one is removed; meanwhile, both gardens and collieries suffer. Still, the supply of labour to the mines from this district is considerable, and it is not likely to fall off. Jāmtarā and Deoghar are within easy reach of Asansol, and the fear of bad livelihood prosecutions drives many bad characters from the Dumka subdivision to the mines.

"Eastern Bengal and the country near the Ganges attract many agricultural labourers from the Santal Parganas, and Mālāda and Dīnājpur many earth-workers. This year some 700 coolies have been supplied by this district for local works in various places, viz., the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Chittagong town, Rāngāmāti, Jessore and the Sundarbans. The first demand for this kind of labour came from the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where the men were handled with such tact that they came forward in large numbers for similar work elsewhere. The Sundarbans men, however, are discontented, and those sent to Jessore have actually deserted. The probability is that volunteers will now be scarce for other places than the Hill Tracts and possibly also the town of Chittagong. Deoghar supplies a few men to the jute mills near Calcutta and others to Calcutta itself as porters and coolies. The main factors which determine the extent of migration from this district are the harvests and the *mahājans*; and the best season for recruitment is January or February."

The average prices (in seers and chittacks per rupee) of common **PRICES.** rice, wheat, barley, gram, maize and salt during the last 4 years for which figures are available are given in the following table:—

	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.
	S.R. CH.	S.R. CH.	S.R. CH.	S.R. CH.
Common rice	12 15	9 2	7 4	10 10
Wheat	11 9	9 13	8 7	9 0
Barley	19 3	12 14	10 3	11 0
Gram	14 9	11 8	10 2	13 5
Maize	19 4	13 2	11 11	12 0
Salt	14 2	14 5	17 2	16 0

The high prices of food grains ruling in recent years have considerably straitened the circumstances of persons living on small fixed incomes, but have caused a marked rise in the wages of coolies near industrial centres.

MATERIAL
CONDI-
TION OF
THE
PEOPLE.

The ryots of the Santal Parganas enjoy several special privileges under the agrarian laws passed for the district. Their rents have been settled by Government officers and cannot be enhanced during the term of the settlement, except on the ground of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, the proprietor. They are protected against *mahājan*, by section 6 of Regulation III of 1872, which lays down (1) that interest on any debt or liability for a period exceeding one year shall not be decreed at a higher rate than 2 per cent per mensem, and no compound interest arising from any intermediate adjustment of accounts shall be decreed; (2) that the total interest decreed on any loan or debt shall never exceed one-fourth of the principal sum if the period be not more than one year, and shall not in any other case exceed the principal of the original debt or loan. It must be admitted, however, that this usury clause has not been altogether effectual, for the *mahājan* often succeeds in making his own terms by the simple expedient of stopping the credit of his debtors without having recourse to the law courts. The ryots are further secured in the possession of their lands by a provision of law prohibiting the transfer of ryoti rights, and in Santal villages the communal system has been preserved, the village community as a whole holding the village lands and having collective rights over the village waste. So long as a member of the community cultivates his lands and pays his rent to the *pradhān*, or village headman, his lands are his exclusive property. If he fails to pay his rent or wishes to leave his village, his lands revert to the community and the *pradhān* disposes of them. There is, moreover, a safeguard against the latter abusing his authority in that he can be dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner for misconduct. This communal system has fostered and developed a spirit of co-operation of which the results are apparent in many directions. "When," writes Mr. H. McPherson, "one looks back on the enormous improvements that have been effected during the last 30 years by the ryots of the Santal Parganas without any help from Government or the zamindars, as evidenced by the extension of cultivation, the rise in the class of lands, and the number of *bāndhs* that are studded all over the district, one may fairly say that the village community of the Santal Parganas is sufficiently self-reliant."

The district having been cleared from jungle within a recent period, there has been a rapid extension of the area under cultivation. Although there has been considerable immigration, this expansion has been such as to give comparative ease to the cultivating classes, and it has been accompanied by a marked improvement of the land under cultivation, inferior lands being converted into rice fields, etc. Symptoms of pressure are, it is true, appearing, as the country has been cleared in many parts and inferior land is now being taken up ; but, on the whole, there is no severe pressure, and, the chief grain crops being maize and rice, the double staple reduces the risk of famine. The holdings of the ryots are adequate, the average area of ryoti holdings for which separate rents have been settled at Mr. McPherson's recent settlement being 4·8 acres with a rent of Rs. 4-15, while the average area of *pradhane*' holdings is 20·4 acres with a rent of Rs. 15-13. It is only natural to find that the average headman's *jot* is about four times the size of the average ryoti holding, for the headman is selected from the wealthier and more influential ryots of the village. As the number of settled rents is less than two-thirds of the total number of holdings, it is clear that many ryots hold more than one and that they were amalgamated at rent settlement.

"It would not," says Mr. McPherson, "be an over-estimate to say that the average amount of land held by each cultivating family in the Santal Parganas is 7 acres with a rent of Rs. 7-8. Looking to the comparative proportions of rice land and upland cultivation, it may further be said that the average ryot has 3½ acres of rice land and 3½ acres of *bari* or upland cultivation. The Santal Parganas ryot has a larger, though in most cases perhaps a poorer, holding than the average ryot elsewhere, and to counterbalance the poverty of his *jot* he has a lower rent to pay. The average does not much exceed one rupee per acre." How low this rent is may be realized from the fact that the average outturn of second class rice land is 20 maunds of paddy per acre, and that the price of common rice during the last 10 years has averaged 13½ seers per rupee, corresponding approximately with 21 seers of paddy per rupee. The average produce of rice land m.y., therefore, be valued at about Rs. 36 per acre, of which the rate rent, taking Rs. 2 to be the average, absorbs only one-eighteenth. If the remission for the current settlement is taken into account it will be found that the ryot pays to his landlord less than one-twentieth of his total produce.

The Santals, who form a large portion of the population, are particularly well off, for their rents are low and their wants are few ; they have good houses, pigs, poultry, sheep and goats,

besides buffaloes and cattle. As a rule, they get three meals a day, the morning meal being composed of stale rice and salt or vegetables, while the meals at midday and at night consist of a plate of rice, *dāl* and vegetables, also sometimes meat or fish. Besides this, they eat birds and animals of all kinds and the fruit of the *mahuā*, *sāl* and *kend* trees. After *janera* and *kodo* have been harvested, they are frequently eaten to make some change in the daily food, besides jungle produce and vegetables; and occasionally fruits such as mango, jack, custard-apple and melon are eaten as a luxury.

The Pahārias, on the other hand, especially those in the west of the Rājmahāl Hills, are in a state of great poverty, living from hand to mouth, owing largely to their drunken habits and idleness. Government more than a century ago endeavoured to induce them to clear and cultivate the plains, but failed to do so. The Santāls cleared and occupied the tracts in which the Pahārias used to hunt and collect forest produce, and the latter were driven back up the hills and penned in there. Now in many parts they have not enough to live on, and the little they have they waste in drink. This is no new feature. Over twenty years ago the Subdivisional Officer of Goddā stated that he searched 50 Pahāria houses and did not find so much as the food for the evening meal. All were waiting for the return of the women who had carried firewood for sale in the market and would bring back food.

As regards other classes of the community, artisans are as a rule fully employed. The labouring classes consist chiefly of agricultural labourers, who are engaged as a kind of voluntary bondsmen by cultivators, whose object it is to have cheap labour available when required. The bond is voluntary, the labourer can always emigrate, and he has the advantage of being sure of support in the slack season. Generally speaking those labourers that are unable to obtain steady employment at home go abroad to work on the railways, in the metropolitan districts, or in Eastern Bengal and the tea gardens of Assam.

Of late years some sections of the community have had considerable stress and hardship owing to partial failure of the crops and high prices. The outturn, though short, would, it is reported, have more than sufficed for local wants, but the greater part of it found its way into the granaries of the local money-lenders, and was exported thence for consumption in other districts. The classes most affected are landless day-labourers in the purely agricultural tracts, cultivators whose indebtedness to the *mahājans* prevents them from having sufficient food stocks for the support of their families, and those classes who have small fixed incomes.

The poorer agriculturists, however, obtain considerable help from the grain *golis* in the Court of Wards estates and the Dāmin-i-koh; and the flower of the *mahuā* and other jungle produce and roots help to support the aborigines in lean years. On the other hand the wages of labourers near industrial centres have risen, and the extension of jute cultivation and the keen demand for the fibre have brought ready money into the hands of the agricultural population occupying the low alluvial strip of country along the Ganges. The development of the lac industry has also enabled many of the aborigines in the Dāmin-i-koh to make large profits, but they are often squandered in drink.

CHAPTER X.

MINES, MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.

MINES.

Coal mines.

THE chief localities in which coal has been worked or exists are:—

Name	Date of opening.	Output in maunds.	
Bargo I ..	1904	2,576	
Bargo II ..	1907	2,400	
Dāwanpur Bhalki ..	1908	4,500	
Ghatchora ..	1908	750	
Katmarki ..	1908	42,000	
Sakalma ..	1908	196	
Sarsabad ..	1907	1,500	
Sultānpur ..	1895	72,464	

scale. Formerly, however, there was a considerable output from the Madankata mine, which produced nearly 30,000 tons in 1895 but was closed in 1896. It is reported that the Sultānpur and Palāsthāl mines in the Jāmtārā subdivision contain good coal and would be valuable if they had access to the railway and were properly developed; but the Sultānpur mine is at present only worked to supply local demands, and the Palāsthāl mine did not work at all in 1908. As a rule, however, the coal is limited in quantity and inferior in quality, and is generally fit only for burning bricks and lime. In the Sultānpur mine a boiler is employed, while in the other mines hand labour only is used for digging out the coal. In the Jāmtārā subdivision the workers are paid Re. 1 to Re. 1.8 per 100 cubic feet of coal lifted: in the Goddā and Dumkā subdivisions a man earns two annas daily and a woman one anna six pies.

Quarries. Stone quarries are worked on a considerable scale along the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway, the stone being used for

ballast on the railway and for road metalling. The best known are those of Mr. Ambler at Māhārājpur and of Mr. Atkinson at Udhū Nullah, the latter of which was started over 30 years ago. The industry is gradually moving down the Loop Line from the Rājmāhāl to the Pakaur subdivision—a movement hastened by the recession of the Ganges from the Rājmāhāl bank, by which water communication has been largely cut off.

China-clay has been worked since 1892 at Mangal Hāt: ^{China-clay.} it is extracted from the sandstone by a system of crushing, washing and subsequent settling, and is used by the Calcutta Pottery Company for the manufacture of china and porcelain. In an article* by Mr. Satya Sundar Deb, scholar in ceramics in Japan, this clay is described as being in no way inferior to German or Japanese kaolins. There is also a quantity of china clay at Katangi (near Baski⁴), Karanpur and Dodhāni, which is quite white and very free from quartz and other mechanical impurities; it is of a powdery, not very plastic variety and resembles Cornish china-clay in physical properties.[†]

Fire-clay is found on the western side of the Rājmāhāl Hills. The clays vary in colour from white to purple and blue, and yield bricks which range from dirty-white, fine-textured ware to yellow bricks almost identical in appearance with the best Stourbridge bricks. From the results of experiments on samples of the clay it is stated that it would answer most if not all of the requirements for which Stourbridge clay is at present used in India. Many of the clays are said to be perfectly infusible, and their texture quite as fine and uniform as that of the best Stourbridge clay, and it is believed that they are suitable for such articles as retorts for gas manufacture, as well as for simpler fire-bricks.[†]

In 1907-08 a special enquiry was made into the suitability ^{Glass} of the sands occurring in this district for glass manufacture. The ^{sands.} only river sand suitable for the purpose was found to be the Ganges sand, which is plentiful along the banks of that river. Glass made from a sample obtained at Colgong was found to be of a dark-green colour, owing to the iron contained in the sand, and only suitable for the cheapest and darkest kinds of bottles, such as claret and beer bottles. Such a glass could not be used for the manufacture of medicine or soda water bottles. Treatment with manganese showed that hock bottles could be manufactured from this sand, the combined effects of the iron and

* *Industrial India*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 95.

† Murray Stuart, *China-clay and Fire-clay Deposits in the Rājmāhāl Hills*, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2, 1909.

manganese giving the brownish-red, non-actinic colour common in hock bottles. The sand in other rivers contains much more iron and would yield glass of darker colour and inferior quality, besides which the difficulties of access and transport are great. White Dāmodar sandstones occur at Mangal Hât and Pîrpahâr on the east side of the Rājmahâl Hills, and in the Hura and Chaparbhitâ coal-fields on the north-west. Experiments with the sand at Mangal Hât showed that with proper treatment it would yield excellent plate and window glass, and, with less carefully selected materials, a very good quality of medicine and soda water bottles; it is even possible to manufacture from it a perfectly clear high-class glass suitable for the best cut glass and table glass. There are two objections, however, to this sand: (1) it requires crushing in order to be brought into a condition fit for use, and the crushed product would probably require to be washed to remove the fine dust, a process which leads to the loss of a serious percentage of the material; and (2) it contains kaolin, which it is practically impossible to eliminate completely. The latter drawback will probably prove a serious obstacle to the satisfactory manufacture of glass from this sand.*

MANUFACTURES. The industries of the Santal Parganas are of a primitive character and of little economic importance. They mostly consist of the exploitation of the natural resources of the district, such as the smelting and manufacture of iron, the production of lac and the propagation of tusser cocoons. With these exceptions the industries of the district are practically village handicrafts.

Iron smelting. The smelting of iron from native ore has long been carried on by a race called Kols, but the industry is not flourishing owing to the destruction of jungle and the greater facilities for obtaining old scrap-iron at a cheap rate from Deoghar and Râmpur Hât. The iron produced is used for the manufacture of mattocks, picks, ploughs, knives, axes, spears, etc., by the village blacksmiths. The following account of the processes employed by the Kols is quoted from Mr. E. R. Watson's *Monograph on Iron and Steel Work in Bengal* (1907):—"I had the opportunity of watching (on the 18th April 1907) the process carried out by the Kols in the jungle at a short distance from Dumkâ in the Santal Parganas. It scarcely differed from any of the processes which have been in vogue for the whole of the last century in Sambalpur, Orissa, Chotâ Nâgpur and the Rājmahâl Hills. The furnace was built

* Murray Stuart, B. Sc., F. G. S., *Report on the Suitability of the Sands occurring in the Rājmahâl Hills for Glass Manufacture*, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., Vol. XXXVII, Part 2, pp. 191-198.

on a small hill under the shade of a banyan tree. It was made of clay and carefully dried before use. In form it was almost cylindrical, height 34 inches, outside diameter 26 inches at the bottom, 22 inches at the top, inside diameter at the hearth about a foot, at the top 5 inches. On one side a semi-circular hole, a foot across, was made in the bottom of the wall of the furnace. Into this hole the tuyère was placed resting on a brick, the tuyère consisting of an already baked fire-clay tube 7 inches in length, about 1 inch across at the wider end, and slightly conical. The tuyère was then surrounded by a mass of moist sandy clay, the hole in the wall being entirely filled up with this material. The bellows were then put in place. Each bellows consisted of a short cylindrical piece of wood, 16 inches in diameter and 5 inches high, hollowed out from the top to the form of a pill-box, with a goat-skin tied to the mouth. Into the side of the cylinder was fitted a bamboo tube 3 feet in length and fitted at its further end with a small iron tube as a nozzle. Two such bellows were put in place with the iron nozzles put into the tuyère of the furnace, and the bodies of the bellows close together, so that the bamboo tubes were as near in line as possible with the tuyère.

"In the ground on each side of the furnace a pliant stake 8 or 9 feet in length had been driven. These were now bent over towards the bellows, and to the stake on the left-hand side was fastened a string which was attached to the goat-skin of the left-hand bellows, so that the stake, trying to spring back into place, pulled up the skin on the bellows. The stake on the right-hand side was similarly attached to the right-hand bellows. The skins each had a perforation. Then a man standing on the bellows, with one foot on each, depressed the right-hand stake, and at the same time closed the perforation in the skin of the right-hand bellows with his foot, and by means of his weight drove the air from the bellows into the furnace. He then leant over to the left and repeating the operations on the left-hand bellows sent a blast from the left-hand pipe into the furnace: and thus alternately he threw his weight from the right to the left in a series of operations resembling a man on the tread-mill, and gave a fairly steady blast into the furnace. The skins were from time to time sprinkled with water. The furnace was filled with charcoal (the charcoal used was of *sāl* wood, having been burnt in a hemispherical pit in the ground) and lighted, and the blast started. At this time two dabs of vermillion were made on the wall of the furnace just above the hearth, apparently invoking the blessing of the gods on the smelting. Then the charcoal and ore were supplied from the top of the furnace in the proportion of one skip of

charcoal to one measure of ore (the measure consisting of a broken water-pot). The blast was steadily maintained, and fresh fuel and ore were added as the previous supply gradually worked down into the furnace.

"The ore employed was a fairly pure haematite in small nodules showing a crystalline fracture. These nodules were crushed to a fine powder before use by an old lady belonging to the family of smelters. Carbon monoxide burnt with a blue flame at the mouth of the furnace, and that a white heat was attained within the furnace could be seen by peering down the tuyère. After about half an hour a thin stick was pushed into the moist sandy clay wall surrounding the tuyère, and from the hole thus made a small quantity of slag poured out and solidified. Tappings of slag were made about every half an hour. The slag was almost black and vitreous, and on cooling generally splintered into a thousand pieces. The blast was continued until no more fuel remained; and, in all, probably 1 maund of charcoal and 20 seers of ore were used. This occupied from three to four hours. The blast was continued some time after all the material had disappeared from the top of the furnace; then the tuyère was removed, the sand, etc., brushed away from the hearth, the charcoal raked out from the furnace and quenched; and ultimately the mass of semi-fused iron was dragged out by thongs with long wooden handles, dragged on to the grass, and very gently hammered to express some of the slag. Care was taken not to hammer out too much of the slag, as the iron is sold by weight. The iron obtained weighed about 6 or 7 seers. The smelters said that this *kutcha* iron sold at 20 to 25 seers for the rupee, so that the product of their labours was valued at 4 annas. They said that on being refined this would yield half its weight of *pucka* iron.

"With regard to the *rationale* of the smelting operation, from the appearance of the slag one would pronounce it to be chiefly ferrous silicate $Fe_2 SiO_4$ and conclude that part of the ferric oxide, being reduced to ferrous oxide, acts as a base, and combines with and removes the silica present in the ore as impurity. Thus the process is very wasteful and cannot give a good yield, but at the same time by using only the pure wood charcoal and adding no flux the iron produced is almost sure to be of high quality, as there is no risk of introducing the objectionable elements, sulphur and phosphorus, along with fuel or flux. It would, however, be quite worth while to confirm this view of the composition of the slag by chemical analysis, as it appears that no satisfactory analysis has ever been made of the slag from an indigenous smelting furnace in Bengal."

The lac insect is reared on a fairly large scale, and factories *Lac manuf.* for the manufacture of shellac have been started at Dumkā, in *factory.* its neighbourhood, and at Pākaur. It is not known when the lac insect (*Coccus Laccifer*), or as the natives call it *lakor laka*, was first introduced into this district, but there is a consensus of opinion that the Paharias introduced it or, at any rate, were the first to cultivate it; and the industry is known to have existed in some parts of the district for the last sixty or seventy years. The insect is supposed to have been introduced from Mānbhūm, but this must be only a surmise. Although lac has been produced for so long, the development of the industry did not begin till about 1870, when it was stimulated by the increasing demand for lac in the markets of London and America.

Lac in this district is generally raised on the *palas* tree (*Butea frondosa*) called in Santali *muru*, but in the north and east, where *palas* trees are few in number, the *bair* (*Zizyphus Jujuba*) or plum bush (Santali *jamun*) is used for the purpose. There are two crops, the first in Chait and Baisakh, i.e., March to May, and the second in Bhādo to Asin, i.e., August to October. These crops go by the name of Kartik (October-November) and Jait (May-June), respectively, those being the months when the crop comes into the local market. The crop of Chait-Baisakh yields the most lac, but the crop of Bhādo-Asin contains a greater proportion of colouring matter. The manner of setting the insect for the next crop is simply to save a few well-covered twigs or a branch of the tree when cutting the crop, so that the new shoots thrown out after the tree has been pruned down in the removal of the crop may be covered by the insect when it swarms, which for the Jait crop is in Kartik and for the Kartik crop is in Jait. To set the insect in a new grove of trees, a branch of healthy lac containing the larvæ is tied on each tree. After the larvæ have swarmed the branches are cut and the lac sold: this lac goes by the name of *plunki*.

The mode of preparing the crop for the market is primitive in the extreme and must result in considerable loss of material, especially of the colouring matter. When the incrustation has formed on thick wood, it is scraped off with the reaping hook or some other rough instrument; where it has formed on thin wood, the parts wholly covered are left intact; where it is only partially covered, the uncovered portions of wood are roughly cut off so that a large amount of wood or stick is sold with the lac. The growers generally sell the lac to the village *mahajans* or shopkeepers, sometimes taking advances on the crop, and

sometimes exchanging the produce for salt, tobacco, etc., and sometimes being paid in cash.*

Cocoons-rearing. The Pahārias, Santals and Khatauris rear tusser worms on *āsan* trees, four kinds of cocoons (*kou*) being common, viz., (1) *sarhan*, (2) *langa*, (3) *muga* and (4) *phuka*, of which *muga* is the best. The process of rearing is as follows. The rearers enclose the eggs laid by the tusser moth in a covering of *āsan* leaves called *thonya*, which they keep for two days in their houses. When the eggs hatch out into caterpillars the *thongas* are fastened to the twigs of *āsan* trees, and the caterpillars then spread about the tree forming cocoons. This takes place in the month of Asin, i.e., towards the end of September and beginning of October. Three months later, i.e., in the month of Aghan, when the cocoons are ready, they are taken down from the *āsan* trees and dried on the ground for two days. The Patwas or weavers now take the cocoons and boil them in hot water, steeping them for about 8 hours. After this they wash the cocoons in clean water and place them on cow-dung ashes to dry them. They then take each cocoon in the left hand, and with the right hand rub it gently in order to remove the rough coating over the shell and get out the *khani* or tusser silk. After this is done they begin to spin.

Tusser weaving. Tusser weaving is carried on by a class of weavers called Patwās, who are said to have migrated from the Gayā district and live in the village of Mal Bhagaiyā, in the Goddā Subdivision, just outside the border of the Dāmin-i-koh. The fabrics woven by them consist of *dhotis*, *sāris* and *ganchás*, and also long pieces called *thān*. Various dyes are used, by which the clothes are coloured white, red, purple and yellow, according to the demand.† The cloths are sold in the local markets and occasionally disposed of in the hills.

Cotton weaving. Coarse cotton cloths are woven by village weavers on a fairly large scale, as the aboriginal inhabitants of the district generally use locally-made cloth: but the weavers have not been enterprising enough to use fly-shuttle looms.

Sabai grass. The cultivation of *sabai* grass is an industry of some importance in this district. The area under it in the Rājmahāl subdivision is estimated at 20,000 to 25,000 acres, and over 500,000 maunds are exported annually from Sāhibganj, this being the

C. F. Monson, *Note on the Lac Industry in the Santal Parganas*, Indian Forester, Vol. VII, 1882, pp. 274-79; G. Watt, *Lac and the Lac Industries* Agricultural Ledger, 1901, No. 9.

† N. G. Mukherji, *Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal* (1908), pp. 110—115.

largest quantity produced in any district in Bengal. The following account of the industry is derived mainly from Mr. D. N. Mukherji's *Monograph on Paper and Papier-Maché in Bengal*.

The hillsides are thoroughly cleared in the dry season by felling and burning, and the seed is scattered broadcast in the rains without any preparatory ploughing or spading. As the jungle comes up again, two weedings are given. In the first year the grass grows to a height of 12 or 18 inches, but this first year's growth is of no value and is not cut. In the second year the fields again receive two weedings, and the grass grows three feet high. It is now used to some extent both for paper and rope-making; but it is still weak, and it is not till in the third year that it attains its maturity, becoming strong and growing six to seven feet high. From now onwards the fields receive only one principal weeding every year in July and August, for nothing ought to remain in the fields but *sabai*, whether trees, scrub jungle or other kinds of grass. Beyond this annual weeding the fields receive no attention.

The grass is cut only once a year at any time from the end of October to the end of January. Every year, after it has been cut, the fields are burnt in the dry season; after this, when the rainy season sets in, the grass shoots up to a height of six or seven feet in about a couple of months. The outturn varies somewhat, but about 25 maunds may be taken as the average per *bigha* or 75 maunds per acre. A *sabai* plantation has a long life, many fields being quite fifty years old; in fact, once established the grass takes such a hold of the land as to defy eradication. The outturn, however, continues to be good for 15 or 16 years only and then gradually falls off. When the yield becomes so small as to be no longer worth troubling about the field is abandoned; and it is only when, in the course of time, want of weeding allows jungle to re-establish itself that the *sabai* dies off and a fresh plantation becomes possible.

The fields on which *sabai* is grown are situated on the slopes of the hills occupied by the Paharias, who pay no revenue to Government but receive rent for such fields from local men called *sabai mahajans*, who cultivate the lands under them. The latter have to pay Rs. 10 every year to Government before entering the hills and are debarred from acquiring any rights in the lands they cultivate under the Paharias. The rent is settled by annual agreement. The *mahajan* has the fields weeded and watched, and when the crop is ready has it cut and carried to Sahibganj. There the grass is made over to balers, who bale and deliver it to the various paper mills under contract. The baling is done with

the help of hydraulic presses, each bale being $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds in weight. The balers or contractors, who have nothing to do with the cultivation of the grass, pay to Government a royalty of one anna per maund of grass exported out of the district. They deliver the grass at the paper mills for an average price of Re. 1-3 to Re. 1-5 per maund ; and allowing for the price they pay to the *mahājans*, the cost of clearing and baling, the royalty and railway freight, they make a handsome prof.t.

With the object of improving the condition of the Pāhārias and safeguarding their interests, Government has this year (1909) assumed entire control of the *sabai* cultivation to the exclusion of the local *sabai mahājans*, who had hitherto reaped enormous profits.

Other industries. Muchis and Chamārs carry on a fairly extensive industry in tanning leather and making shoes, while Doms, Hāris and Santals cure skins for exportation. Mahilis make baskets, bamboo mats and *chiks* or screens, and Kumhārs make tiles, pots and pans. *Bails* or measuring cups of a pretty though stereotyped pattern are made on a limited scale by Thatheris and Jadupatiās. The manufacture of *ghī*, oil (*mahnā*, *sarguja* and mustard), and *gur* or coarse sugar is carried on as a domestic industry. Village carpenters are numerous and wood-carving is carried on to a small extent, the carved wooden combs exhibited and sold in fairs showing some skill. Silver and bell-metal ornaments are also made, and lacquered bangles are manufactured at Nunihāt and a few other places. Indigo was till recently manufactured in a few European and native factories, but the industry is now almost extinct, the only factory still working being that of Mr. W. M. Grant at Sāhibganj. In 1900 ten factories had an outturn of 329 maunds valued at Rs. 53,000. Brick-making by European methods has been carried on at Mahārājpur for the last few years.

TRADE. The chief imports are paddy, gunny-bags, raw cotton, sugar, refined and unrefined molasses, European and Bombay piece-goods, salt, kerosine oil, coal and coke. The chief exports are food-grains, linseed and mustard seed, *sabai* grass, road-metal, hides, raw fibres, tobacco and indigo. The road-metal is exported chiefly to Calcutta, Hooghly and Burdwān. The trade in hides is chiefly carried on in the headquarters and Pākaur subdivisions, where regular hide godowns are kept by Muhammadan merchants.

Trade centres and fairs. The principal entrepôt of trade, both by river and rail, is Sāhibganj, and the chief traders are mostly Mārwāris, who have depôts at all the important *hāts* on the main roads. A

considerable amount of trade is carried on at these *hâts* and at the fairs held from time to time in different parts of the district. The principal fairs are shown below :—

SUBDIVISION.	NAME OF FAIR.	Time at which held.	Dura- tion (days).	Attendance, 1907-1908.
DUMKĀ	Rāmeswar <i>Melā</i> ..	Latter part of Chait ..	3	10,000
	Tantlōi ...	Last day of Pus ..	15	5,000
	Nunbil ...	Ditto ..	7	5,000
	Bāsknāth ...	Sivarâtri in Phâlgun ..	2	5,000
	Dumkā or Hîjlâ ...	February ..	7	5,000
DEOGHAR ...	Bhado Pôrnimâ ...	September ..	3	6,000
	Supanchamî ...	February ..	3	5,000
	Sivarâtri ...	March ..	5	8,000
GODDĀ ...	Bastara ...	Chait Sankrânti in April ..	12	9,000 to 10,000
JÂMTÂRÂ ...	Dhamsai ..	February ..	7	9,000 to 10,000
	Jâmtârâ ..	Râsjâtra (November) ..	10	6,000 to 7,000
	Karamdaha ..	Last day of Pus ..	10	6,000 to 7,000
PÂKAUR	Pâkaur ..	Rathjâtra (June) ..	1	2,000 to 3,000
	Ditto ...	Kali Puja (October) ..	1	3,000 to 4,000
	Coronation <i>Mela</i> .. (Pâkaur Agricultural and Industrial Exhibi- tion).	February ..	5	10,000
RÂJMHRÂI	Râdhânarâgar ...	Chait Navami ..	3	1,000
	Gosan ..	" ..	...	3,000
	Bindipârâ ...	" ..	...	3,000
	Chhatpârâ ...	" ..	...	600
	Riser ...	" ..	..	1,000
	Gajeswarî ...	" ..	..	1,000
	Motijhurna ..	" ..	..	1,000

CHAPTER XI.

MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

**RAIL-
WAYS.**

THE district is traversed on the north east by the Loop Line and on the south-west by the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, the former being opened to traffic in 1859 and the latter in 1871. A short branch ($7\frac{1}{2}$ miles long) connects Rājmahāl with Tinpahār on the Loop Line; another branch, also managed by the East Indian Railway, runs from Madhupur on the Chord Line to Giridih, a distance of $23\frac{1}{2}$ miles; and there is a small branch line from Baidyanāth Junction to Deoghar, which is worked by a private company. From Sāhibganj a short line runs to Sakrigali Ghāt, between which and Manihāri Ghāt, on the other bank of the Ganges, a ferry steamer ordinarily plies, establishing connection with the Eastern Bengal State Railway. It has recently been found

necessary to open a

<i>Loop Line.</i>	<i>Miles</i>	<i>Chord Line.</i>	<i>Miles.</i>	
Rājgāon	.. 162	Mihijām	.. 148	branch line in connec-
Pākaur	.. 169	Jāmtārū	.. 157	tion with the latter
Kotālpokhar	176	Kāmātārū	.. 165	service from Mirzā
Barharwā	.. 185	Madhupur	188	Chauki to the Ganges
Tinpahār	195	Baidyanāth	.. 201	as the Sakrigali-
Taljhāri	.. 201			Manihāri route is not
Mabārājpur	210			now navigable at all
Sakrigali	214			seasons of the year.
Sāhibganj	219			
Mirzā Chauki	.. 228			

The marginal table shows the stations on the Chord and Loop Lines in this district and their distance from Howrah.

The Loop Line enters the district at Rājgāon and leaves it at Mirzā Chauki, a distance of 65 miles. Throughout its length it passes along the skirts of the hills, the line being laid in a narrow strip of country hemmed in on one side by the Rājmahāl Hills and on the other by the Ganges. The most noticeable engineering work on this portion of the line is the Sītā Pahār cutting, a little beyond Barharwā, which was a work of great difficulty, a bed of solid basalt having to be cut away and blasted. The Chord Line enters the district at Mihijām, crosses the table-

land of the Jamtārā and Deoghar subdivisions at an altitude of nearly 1,000 feet, and running parallel to the western boundary of the Santāl Parganas, at an interval of 10 to 15 miles, leaves it a few miles north-west of Baidyanāth Junction. There is a project for the construction of a line from Bhāgalpur *via* Bausi and Hasdihā to Deoghar, and an extension to Bausi has been sanctioned.

Until 1901 the roads in the Santāl Parganas were maintained Roads. from an annual grant made by Government and administered by the Deputy Commissioner. In that year the Cess Act was introduced in parts of the district, and a District Road Committee was formed. There are now (1909) 43 scheduled roads under the Committee, with a total mileage of 840 miles, and four village roads with a length of 33 miles: a considerable sum is also devoted to the upkeep of communications in the Dāmin-i-koh Government estate, which extends over an area of 1,356 square miles. There are only 15½ miles of metalled roads, but in the greater portion of the district the soil is hard and metalling is not required, for the roads are passable even in the rains and graveling alone is required on the more important roads. Cart traffic, however, is almost suspended during the rains in the alluvial portion of the Godda and Rājmahāl subdivisions and in the black soil of which part of the Pākaur subdivision consists.

The principal roads pass through Dumkā and connect it with the railway, the most important being the Bhāgalpur-Suri road, the Dumkā-Rāmpur Hāt road, and the Dumkā-Deoghar road. The Bhāgalpur-Suri road, which is 103 miles long, traverses the Santāl Parganas from north to south, its length within the district being 53 miles (mile 42 to mile 95). It is a second class road with a width of 24 feet, of which eight feet in the middle are metalled with gravel. Seven unbridged hill streams cross the road, all of them fordable even in the rains except two, viz., the Bhurbhuri and Mor, on which ferry boats ply during that season. The remaining rivers and streams are bridged, there being two iron girder bridges, three bridges with a timber roadway on masonry abutments and piers, and 147 small arched bridges and culverts. There are four inspection bungalows, at Hasdihā, Nunihāt, Masanjor and Rānigrām. The Dumkā-Rāmpur Hāt road runs east from Dumkā to the Loop Line, its length being 39 miles, of which the last six miles lie in the Birbhūm district. It is a second class road and has a width of 24 feet for 32½ miles and of 20 feet for 5½ miles; throughout its length 8 feet in the middle are metalled with gravel. There are three inspection bungalows at Sikāripārā Haripur and Rāmpur Hāt.

The Dumkā-Deoghar road runs west to the Chord Line and has a length of $40\frac{1}{2}$ miles, but $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles also form part of the Bhāgalpur-Suri road, so that the actual length of the road is 36 miles. There is one unbridged river on the sixth mile, viz., the Mor, and there is one inspection bungalow at Jarmundi on the 17th mile.

WATER COMMUNICATIONS. The only navigable waterway is the Ganges, the rivers which traverse the district being hill streams that rise in flood during the rains and have little or no water for the rest of the year. There is a through steamer service on the Ganges, and also a local service between places on its banks, viz., from Rajmahāl to Manihāri, from Rajmahāl to Mānikchak, and, in the rains, from Rajmahāl via the river Kālindi to English Bazar, a distance of 80 miles. As stated above, the railway maintains a ferry steamer between Sakrigali Ghāt and Manihāri Ghāt, and it also has a bi-weekly service between Rajmahāl and Dhuliān.

CONVEYANCES. The characteristic cart of the district is the *sagar*, which is suitable for work on the roughest roads. It consists merely of two solid wheels with bamboos fastened to the axle. They taper to a point at the other extremity, thus forming a triangle on which the goods are placed, and rest upon a cross bar, which passes over the necks of the buffaloes or bullocks which draw it. Such carts are capable of struggling over steep hills covered with boulders.

POSTAL COMMUNICATIONS. There are 47 post offices in the district and $347\frac{1}{2}$ miles of postal communication. The number of postal articles delivered in 1907-08 was 1,844,206, including letters, post-cards, packets, newspapers and parcels. The value of money orders issued in the same year was Rs 12,23,815 and of those paid Rs. 7,70,735; the total number of Savings Bank deposits was 3,576 and the amount deposited was Rs. 2,56,482. There are ten postal telegraph offices situated at Dumkā, Baidyanāth-Deoghar, Benāgarhia, Goddā, Jāmtārā, Madhupur, Pākaūr, Rajmahāl and Sakrigali. The number of messages issued from these offices in 1907-08 was 20,717.

CHAPTER XII.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

THE first settlement of the district was carried out under the ^{AGRARIAN} Santal Parganas Settlement Regulation, III of 1872, which was ^{MFA-SURES.} passed for "the peace and good government" of the Santal Parganas. The Regulation provided that only certain specified laws, or such other laws as might from time to time be specially notified, should apply to the district, and that the Government might order a settlement for the purpose of ascertaining and recording all rights appertaining to land, whether belonging to the zamindārs and other proprietors, or to the tenants and headmen. It barred the action of the Civil Courts during the settlement except on special references and in suits valued at more than Rs. 1,000 regarding the rights of zamindārs and other proprietors as between themselves; it provided for the reinstatement of headmen and ryots unjustly dispossessed since the 31st December 1858 and for readjusting, at "fair and equitable rates," the rents payable by headmen and ryots; it confirmed to the ryots a right of occupancy after 12 years' possession; and it fixed the rents for at least 7 years until a fresh settlement or agreement was made. The work of effecting a settlement under this Regulation was entrusted to Mr. Browne Wood, then Deputy Commissioner.

An account has already been given in Chapter IX of the rules and principles observed during the operations for the settlement of rent, and it will be sufficient to notice the main features of the work in other directions. In the zamindāri estates:—
 (1) Mere farmers of villages were held to have acquired no right of occupancy in lands cultivated by them during their leases and no title to settlement, whatever might have been the length of their occupation. In Santal villages they had to make way for Santal headmen; but those whose leases had still a term to run were allowed to receive from the headmen for that term the rental fixed by the Settlement Officer on the understanding that they paid to the zamindār the amount due under the terms of their agreement with him. (2) When no rival claimants appeared, the lease was granted to the headman or farmer in possession

unless he was disqualified on account of previous mismanagement; but when there were claimants a careful enquiry was held to determine who had the best right. (3) The Settlement Officer was authorized to use his own discretion in the selection of the headman in Santal villages, provided that due regard was paid to any local customs on the subject. (4) Before a lease was granted its terms were fully explained to all parties. The zamindar and the ryots were specially called upon to submit their objections, if any, and the objections were investigated and settled. (5) Besides classifying and assessing lands the Settlement Officer made enquiries as to the local customs and rights in respect of land and the internal arrangement of the villages, and these were recorded and notified for the information of the zamindar and villagers. The record-of-rights gave fixity to the rights and customs of each village, no amendment of it being permitted except under the hand of the Lieutenant-Governor himself on proof of a material error. A resettlement of the Damin-i-koh was also carried out.

Subsequently doubts began to be entertained whether the Regulation of 1872 authorized settlements to be made from time to time, and it was feared that complications would arise on the expiry of the leases granted by the Settlement Officer. Tenants might be induced or compelled to accept private engagements for higher rates; the rents might gradually become equalized at a higher figure; and this process of enhancement might bring about the unsatisfactory state of feeling which existed before 1872. It was, therefore, considered necessary that Government should keep the process of rent enhancement under its own control. It was also felt that it was necessary to furnish the zamindars with the means of obtaining, at their own expense, a resettlement of rent. Accordingly the Santal Parganas Rent Regulation, II of 1886, was enacted with four objects:—(1) to make it clear that Government could at any time order a fresh settlement and revision of the record-of-rights; (2) to allow the zamindars reasonable facilities for obtaining, at their own expense, enhancements of rents after the expiry of the period of 7 years, which had been fixed as the term of the settlement by Regulation III of 1872; (3) to permit of rents being determined, on the application of zamindars, in tracts which had not been settled under that Regulation; and (4) to prescribe that rents settled in future under Regulation III of 1872 or the new Regulation should hold good for 15 years or until they should be altered again under either Regulation. Provisions to the above effect were inserted in the Regulation; and another important clause was

that prohibiting the eviction of ryots, whether possessing a right of occupancy or not, without the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner.

Regulation II of 1886 enabled settlements of rents to be made on the application of the landlords or ryots, and provided for the recovery by Government of the expenses incurred by it in connection with such proceedings. It did not, however, admit of the preparation of a record-of-rights at the same time as the settlement of rents, and its provisions could be conveniently applied only when small areas were concerned. On the other hand Regulation III of 1872 provided for the preparation of a record-of-rights, as well as for a determination of rents, and had been found to be more suitable when considerable areas came under settlement. The latter Regulation, however, contained no provisions whereby costs could be recovered from the parties benefited by the proceedings initiated under it. Provisions to remedy these defects were embodied in Regulation II of 1904; and three years later Regulation II of 1886 was further amended by Regulation III of 1907, which provides for the enhancement of rent on account of improvements effected by, or at the expense of, zamin-dārs, and for the acquisition of lands required for the construction of works of improvement, building, etc.

The last Regulation passed for the Santal Parganas is Regulation III of 1908, the provisions of which embody several important principles. Chief among these is the principle emphasized by the settlement, and accepted by the ordinary courts of the Santal Parganas in the disposal of agrarian cases, that ryoti land and the office of headman cannot be made the subject of transfer. The rulings of the local Civil Courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855, which like the Settlement Courts are subject to the control of the Commissioner and of Government, have been from time to time referred to Government and been embodied in Government orders, which have upheld the policy of non-alienation and have given the Deputy Commissioner and other local officers, as guardians of the settlement, full power to intervene and set aside whatever is subversive of settlement rights and to enforce the obligations imposed by the record-of-rights. There was, however, always a danger that suits valued at more than Rs. 1,000 might be filed by illicit transferees in the courts established under Act XII of 1887, which are subject to the control of the High Court of Calcutta, and that the rulings of the local courts, the orders of Government and the provisions of the settlement records might not be regarded as binding by those courts. To obviate this danger, Regulation III

of 1908 definitely declares the non-transferability of ryoti lands, and affirms the power of the Deputy Commissioner to interfere with illegal alienations and, generally, to enforce the provisions of the settlement records. Other provisions intended to remedy defects in the machinery of Regulation III of 1872 provide for the regulation of the transfer of suits to and from Civil and Settlement Courts, for the speedier disposal of objections to the published records, and for other miscellaneous matters. This regulation also provides for the infliction of penalties on proprietors, headmen or ryots who commit certain specific breaches of the record-of rights.

**SETTLE-
MENTS.**

The whole of the district was settled for the first time under the provisions of Regulation III of 1872 by Mr. Browne Wood between 1873 and 1879. In 1888 resettlement operations were undertaken at the instance of proprietors entitled under Regulation II of 1886 to have the rents of their ryots revised after an interval of seven years. This settlement, which extended over an area of 1,579 square miles and was brought to a conclusion in 1894, was supervised by Mr. Craven and is therefore known as Craven's settlement. The next resettlement was that carried out by Mr. H. McPherson, I.C.S., who between 1898 and 1905 effected a settlement of 3,499 square miles, viz., 1,098 square miles in the Dāmin-i-koh and 2,401 square miles in zamindāri estates, thus practically completing the second settlement of the district. Mr. H. L. Allanson, I.C.S., succeeding Mr. McPherson in 1905, completed Mr. McPherson's settlement during the next 18 months, and in November 1906 started the third settlement of the district, revising the settlement of 1,579 square miles made by Mr. Craven. These operations are now in progress.

**Pahāria
settle-
ment.**

In 1823 the Government defined its relations to the Pahārias as follows :—"Government can have no desire to interfere with the existing possessions of the hill people in the mountains, or to assert any right incompatible with their free enjoyment of all which their labour can obtain from that sterile soil." The effect of this declaration of policy was that Government realized no revenue from the Pahārias in the hills ; and with a few exceptions noted below they have never been assessed to rent. When the first settlement of the district was carried out, the Pahāria villages in the hills were excluded from its scope ; but in *tappas* Marpal and Daurpal Mr. Browne Wood found the plough cultivation of the Māl Pahārias so undistinguishable from that of the Santals, that he included it in his assessment, while he left the hillside *jhāms* unassessed and unrestricted. In 1881 Mr. W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., who was then Deputy

Commissioner, after an exhaustive enquiry into the history of the Māl Pahārias, showed that they, like their fellow tribesmen outside the Dāmin-i koh, had been subject to a zamindāri régime until Mr. Ward's demarcation of 1832. The local officers were at the same time unanimous in the opinion that the *jhām* cultivation in Marpal and Daurpal was insignificant and the plough cultivation of the Māl Pahārias ample for their wants. It was accordingly decided to stop *jhām* cultivation in those *tappas*. This policy was gradually given effect to, with the result that the Māl Pahārias to the south of the Bānsloi river are now restricted to plough cultivation. The lands held by Pahārias in parts of Ambar, Pātsunda and Barkop were also settled in the course of the settlement of the Dāmin-i-koh in 1867, the Settlement Officer offering the Pahārias leases of their lands in exchange for a very low assessment; and the villages held under such leases were duly settled in 1879 in the same way as the lands held by Santals. Besides this some Pahārias, who had taken to plough cultivation, having asked for a settlement of the land which they had reclaimed as a protection against the encroachment of Santals, it was settled with them at low rates. In these ways, altogether 305 Pahāria villages came under settlement in 1879.

On the conclusion of this settlement Mr. Browne Wood recommended that general settlement operations should be commenced at an early date in the Pahāria country for their own protection and on the ground of expediency; and in 1882 Mr. W. B. Oldham, as Deputy Commissioner, drew up an elaborate scheme for a survey and settlement, and for the commutation of the pensions paid to stipendiary chiefs within and without the Dāmin-i-koh. Government, holding that it was still bound by the promise made in 1823, required that their assent should be gained before a settlement was made. Accordingly the proposal was laid before the Pahāria chiefs at an assembly held at Dumkā, at which they were informed that Government had no wish to force a settlement upon them in violation of its promise. The Pahārias, however, were opposed to a settlement, and Government, finding that the cost of a demarcation survey would be more than a lakh of rupees, negatived the proposal.

Subsequently, in 1895, the headmen of 87 Pahāria villages (33 held by Māl Pahārias and 54 by the Maler) in the Pakaur Dāmin applied for a settlement of their villages, realizing that they were worse off than their neighbours in 92 other Pahāria villages in the same tract which had been settled by Mr. Browne Wood in 1879. Their request was granted and the settlement carried out in 1895-96, the area dealt with being 43 square miles, of which

8,753 acres were under cultivation. The Pahārias having stipulated that lands should be definitely set aside on which they could practise *jhām* or *kurāo* cultivation without restriction, 6,589 acres of waste and jungle land were left for the extension of such cultivation, but two conditions were imposed :—(1) that the bolder should endeavour to terrace the land during the currency of the settlement, and (2) that he should take precautions when firing his *jhām* to save the Government forest from injury. The north and east slopes of the hills covering an area of 10,597 acres, and clumps of forest outside that area covering 1,191 acres, or 11,788 acres in all, were demarcated as protected forest. Rice lands were assessed at 4 annas per *bighā*, first class *bāri* at 3 annas, second class *bāri* at 1 anna, and *kurāo* land (cultivated and uncultivated) at 2 pice per *bighā*, the total land revenue assessed amounting to Rs. 1,502, which just covered the stipends payable in the tract.

When a resettlement of the Dāmin-i-koh was proposed, in 1899, the Local Government was in favour of a survey and demarcation of the boundaries of the Pahāria villages, in order to place the Pahārias within well-defined limits, and to secure the proper administration of the protected forests; but it held that in view of the declarations which had at various periods been made by Government, the lands held by Pahārias could not be assessed to rent without their consent. Such a demarcation would, it was thought, be of use in dealing with any applications for settlement of their lands made by the Pahārias of individual villages. Subsequently, however, in 1901, the Lieutenant-Governor ordered that the work in previously unsettled blocks should be confined to the outer demarcation of those areas, and further stated that it was not the intention of Government to exclude from the enjoyment of the Pahārias and to take over, for purposes of forest conservancy, any portion of the unsettled area; nor did Government desire to interfere in any way with the management by the hill people of the waste lands and forests lying outside the boundaries of the settled area, provided the exercise of their rights was confined to their own requirements. Regarding this decision Mr. McPherson writes :—“ It has always been a matter of extreme regret to me that Government decided to refrain from *mausāwār* boundary survey. The local officers have to this day no maps which show the relative position of hundreds of hill villages for which stipends are drawn by their *mānjhis*. The disadvantage is great from many points of view. The absence of maps renders great the difficulties of police, forest and excise administration. The puzzling results of the enumeration of

Pahārias in the last census are no doubt due largely to the want of maps.* The moral effect on the Pahārias could not fail to be mischievous. The more foolish said in the ignorance of their hearts: 'This is our unconquered country, our *bilāt*. The Sāhibs are afraid of us. They pay us tribute.'

In 1901-02 and 1902-03, however, 162 Pahāria villages came under settlement on the villagers' own application. All Paharia ryots in these villages had their rents settled at half-rates, but in many there were Santal ryots who had been introduced by the Pahāria headmen and were allowed to retain their holdings as they had been in possession, with consent, for a long time. In their case rents were settled according to the ordinary rules. The Pahāria headmen who applied for settlement did so under no misapprehension and showed no signs later of having regretted the step taken by them. On the contrary, they were pleased with the leniency of the assessment, with the exemption from rent of *kurāo* lands, with the subsequent allotment of areas for the practice of *kuwān*, and they expressed the greatest satisfaction when their leases and a copy of the village *jamabandi* were made over to them. They regarded these as a sort of charter of their rights which would protect them from encroachment and dispossession.

The present position of the Paharius is as follows. They have been declared the tenants of Government with occupancy rights and with no power to dispose of their lands to others or settle tenants on them. Except in the areas which have been brought under settlement they pay no rent, and Government has abandoned its claim to exact it under the promise it made in 1823. Government has, however, always asserted its proprietary rights in the forests alike of the hills and plains of the Dāmān-i-koh, and in 1876 it initiated measures of forest conservancy which have since been extended under the rules and laws in force. Though they pay no rent, the Pahāria chiefs have been in receipt of stipends from Government since the close of the 18th century.

Whether the original object of these stipends was to ensure the performance of certain police duties, or whether they were merely inducements to make the hill chiefs abstain from predatory habits, there is no doubt that the system was gradually extended by Cleveland and by his successors beyond the limits at first contemplated, *sardārs*, *nauts* and *māngīs*, whose jurisdiction lay far outside the Dāmān-i-koh, and who did not belong to the Maler race, being appointed stipendiaries. Under this system

* The results of Mr. McPherson's analysis of the census statistics will be found in Chapter III.

the Pahāria *sardārs*, *naibs* and *mānjhis* are pensioners of Government receiving monthly stipends of Rs. 2 to Rs. 10, which aggregate about Rs. 13,000 per annum, in return for which they attend the Magistrate's Court periodically and report crimes, birth and deaths.

LAND TENURES. There are, according to the returns for 1907-08, 465 estates on the revenue-roll of the district, of which 448 are permanently-settled, three are temporarily-settled and 14 are held direct by Government. Of the Government estates by far the most important is the Damin-i-koh, which extends over 1,356 square miles. In this estate the Pahārias, as stated above, hold their lands rent-free, but in all other villages rents are collected from the ryots by village headmen, who have certain special privileges. In the zamindāri estates the majority of the villages are *pradhāni*, i.e., the ryots are represented by a village headman in all dealings with the proprietor. *Khās* zamindāri villages, i.e., villages in which the zamindār deals with the ryots direct and individually are mostly found in the area adjoining the districts of Birbhum, Mālā and Murshidabad, i.e., in *pargana* Muhammādābād in the Dumkā subdivision, and in *parganas* Sultānābād and Ambar in the Pākaur subdivision, which are mostly inhabited by Bengalis, and in the Rājmahāl subdivision outside the Dāmin-i-koh. Such villages are held *khās* either because they have for many generations been so held or temporarily because a suitable headman is not available.

Both in *pradhāni* and *khās* villages there is a *jamābandi* roll, which includes all the agricultural lands in which the village community has a reversionary interest, i.e., settlement of lands in the village cannot be made with persons who do not belong to the village community, unless the existing ryots waive their claim to it or refuse to exercise their right to settlement. In a few villages, however, there are agricultural lands which formerly belonged to ryots, but have come into the hands of proprietors, which are known as *bakāst mālik*. These lands are included in the village *jamābandi* and must either be cultivated by the proprietor himself or be settled with village ryots. In the latter case the lands lose their *bakāst mālik* status and become part of the ryot's holding. In addition to ordinary ryoti lands the headmen's private and official holdings are included in the *jamābandi*, and also lands held by village officials whose rent is paid by the community. The latter lands are found chiefly in the Santal community villages, which usually have attached to them a number of religious and social functionaries. Excluded from the village *jamābandi* are *khās kamāt* lands, i.e., privileged lands in the direct

possession of proprietors, and rent-free service lands, such as *chaukidāri jagir*; lands covered by *brahmottar*, *sibottar* and other religious grants; unassessed homestead lands occupied by poor residents, e.g., agricultural labourers who are not village ryots; and shops and houses occupied by non-agriculturists, which are known as *basauri*.

Prominent among the tenures more or less peculiar to this *Ghātwāli* district are the *ghātwāli* tenures of *tappa* Sarath Deoghar, which cover almost the whole Deoghar subdivision, and are also found in Jaintārā and Dumkā. The *ghātrāls* appear to have been originally tenures granted for the protection of the *ghāts* or passes through the hills, and the *ghātwāls* were small hill chiefs, who raised small levies for their defence and were responsible for peace and order in the tracts held by them. *Tappa* Sarath Deoghar was annexed about 1700 by the Muhammadan Rājās of Nagar in Birbhūm, but the latter were unable to subdue the hill chiefs altogether and came to an arrangement by which half the *ghātwāli* lands were held by the latter as *jāgir* and one-half was liable to assessment. Towards the end of the 18th century the power of the Rājās of Nagar declined still further, and, after the establishment of British rule, the Rājā was unable to exercise any control over the *ghātwāls*. Accordingly, in 1790, the Governor-General in Council allowed him an abatement of his revenue equal to the total amount which might be engaged for by the *ghātwāls*, while the Collector of Birbhūm was directed to make engagements with them. At the same time it was ordered that the lands held by the *ghātwāls* should be excluded from the management of the Rājā, and should be managed by the Collector, though the Governor-General (Sir John Shore) declared that the *ghātrāls* were not entitled to separation or to enter into engagements as proprietors.

The *ghātwāli mahals* having passed under the Collector's management, the latter concluded settlements with the *ghātwāls*, but the Rājā was credited with all net realizations in excess of the revenue. The *ghātwāls*, however, fell repeatedly into arrears, and eventually in 1812 the Governor-General ordered a fresh settlement, deputing a special officer, Mr. David Scott, for the purpose. By Regulation XXIX of 1814 this settlement was declared perpetual, and the *ghātwālis* were recognized as permanent tenures at a fixed rent. The tenures were declared part of the zamindāri of Birbhūm and the rents were to be paid to the Collector, who, after deducting the Government revenue on that part of the estate, was to pay the balance to the zamindār. The new *jama* was fixed at Rs. 20,889, and the *sadar jama*

at Rs. 15,172, the difference (Rs. 5,717) being payable by Government to the Birbhûm Râjâ. *Tappa* Sarath Deoghar was transferred to the Santal Parganas in 1855, and after the readjustment of district boundaries in that year the *ghatwâli* revenue payable at Dumkâ was Rs. 23,494, and the amount payable by Government to the zamindâr Rs. 7,310.

The Nagar Râjâs have now lost their estates and the surplus profits of Sarath Deoghar are divided among a number of shareholders who have succeeded to their interests. There are altogether 53 *ghatwâli* tenures in Sarath Deoghar, the gross rental of which is Rs. 2,50,000, while the revenue they pay to Government is Rs. 16,183-8-6.

The incidents of the *ghatwâli* tenures are as follows. The *ghâtwal* has an inalienable life interest in his tenure ; but no lease granted by a *ghâtwal* could bind his successor until the enactment of Act V of 1859, by which leases can, with the sanction of the Commissioner of the Division, be granted for building and mining purposes. A *ghâtwal* is hereditary, but, to complete his title, the heir has to appear before the Deputy Commissioner and execute a bond providing for the due performance of his police duties and the maintenance of the village watch. As a *ghâtwal* is inalienable it cannot be sold by the Civil Courts, but the surplus proceeds, after providing for the due performance of police duties, can be attached by a decree-holder. If a *ghâtwal* refuses to reside on his estate or defaults in the performance of other duties, the *ghâtwal* may be attached and managed on behalf of the *ghâtwal* by order of the Commissioner. The police duties of the *ghâtwâls* have gradually become less, for, as the country developed, Government found it necessary to make police arrangements of a more elaborate character than could be undertaken by the *ghâtwâls*. At present the principal police duty required of them is to provide for the pay and equipment of the village watchmen within the limits of their tenures. The power of appointing and dismissing *ghâtwâls* is vested in the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division. Ordinarily the next heir of a deceased *ghâtwal* is appointed to succeed him, provided that he is fit to perform the duties attendant upon the office.

Out of 651 square miles covered by the largest *ghâtwâlis*, as shown in the table below, all but 25 square miles are in the possession of the families with whom Mr. Scott made his settlement. "They owe their preservation to the custom of primogeniture that applies to them, to the service nature of the tenure which renders it inalienable, and to the provisions of Regulation XXIX of 1814 and Act V of 1859." There

can be no doubt that but for these safeguards the major portion of the area would long ago have passed into the hands of usurers and lawyers. As the law stands, *ghātūdā's* cannot contract debts that are binding on their successors, nor can their estates be sold up in execution of money decrees. A *ghātūdā's* succession, moreover, requires the confirmation of Government. The consequence is that their powers of borrowing are extremely limited and that they are compelled to live more or less on current income."*

The following table shows the names, settled rent, revenue demand and area of the largest *ghātūdālis* :—

	Rent.	Revenue.	Area in square miles.
	Rs.	Rs.	
Kukrahā	...	5,928	943
Phulchua	...	4,204	214
Saldahā	...	7,750	492
Bāmangāon	...	22,584	3,479
Sarawān	...	12,406	1,494
Jhikti	...	8,219	1,983
Deoli	...	10,886	1,484
Lakharia	...	14,362	1,307
Nuniad	...	5,500	214
Burhai	...	9,017	411
Bargunia
Pathrol	...	33,800	2,240
Kunjora	14
Ghātī (with 3 <i>shikhi tāluks</i>)	20,031	534	93

Another peculiar tenure found in the Deoghar subdivision is the *mulraiayati* tenure, which is an artificial creation of recent date. In 1876-77, in the course of the settlement of that subdivision by Mr. Browne Wood, 80 men, who had been recognized as village headmen, presented a petition to Government, claiming that they were ryots having a right to transfer their holdings, and that the cultivators under them should be recorded as under-ryots or *korfādārs* with no right of occupancy. It was finally decided that the memorialists and others in a like position should be styled *mulraiayats*; but the rights of other cultivators were protected by the record-of-rights drawn up by the Settlement Officer. The *mulraiayat* is allowed to sell his rights, including his right in the land actually cultivated by him, but in other respects his position is that of an ordinary headman. He collects the village

*Mul-
raiayati
tenures.*

rents, he is entitled to half the rent of the land newly brought under cultivation, and he is liable to dismissal for misconduct. It has been held that though a *mulraiyat* may transfer his interest in a village he can only part with it as a whole, and that the sale of a fractional share is void. The purchaser has to seek recognition from the Deputy Commissioner and is appointed like any other headman. If a *mulraiyat* is dismissed for misconduct the *mulraiati* status lapses, and his successor has only the rights of an ordinary village headman.

Village headmen. The extent to which the village headman system obtains in the Santal Parganas may be gathered from the figures shown below:—

Area.	NUMBER OF VILLAGES.			
	<i>Pradhāni.</i>	<i>Mulraiyatī.</i>	<i>Khās.</i>	Total.
Dāmin-i-koh ...	1,933	...	...	1,933
Zamindāri area	6,775	540	1,753	9,068
Total ..	8,708	540	1,753	11,001

The position of the village headmen was first definitely defined in the course of Mr. Browne Wood's settlement, which dealt with two main classes, viz., the Santal *mānji*, or representative of the village community, and the *mustājir*, or lessee, who was often an outside speculator, to whom a zamindār leased a village for a term of years. The principle followed by Mr. Wood in making appointments of headmen in villages was to confirm existing lessees if they were really representative villagers, whose selection as headmen was acceptable alike to the ryots and the zamindārs. Long continued possession as a mere farmer was held to confer no right of occupancy or title to settlement. When an existing lessee refused settlement and no suitable headman could be found, the village was settled *khās* with the proprietor. The chief prerogatives of the headman were (1) his commission, levied at the rate of one anna per rupee of rent from the village ryots (in addition to their rent) and of one anna per rupee to be deducted from the rent payable to the landlord; (2) his enjoyment of the official holding called the *mānji mān* (now called *pradhāni* or *mustājirī*); (3) his right to hold rent-free, during the currency of the settlement, land reclaimed by himself from the waste; and (4) his right to receive rent at half the settlement rates, for the same

period, for all land reclaimed by other ryots of the village. In 1891 the principles followed at this settlement in the appointment and dismissal of headmen were embodied in a set of rules issued by the Commissioner, Mr. Quinn, and known as "Quinn's Rules," which prohibited the appointment of non-residents and all subdivision and transfer of the office of headman, and detailed the grounds on which headmen might be dismissed. These rules have been followed ever since, and are part and parcel of the agrarian law of the district.

Briefly, the position of the headman (*pradhān*) is as follows. He is appointed by the Deputy Commissioner after consulting the zamindār and ryots, and the man appointed must be acceptable to the latter. The nearest male heir, if fit, has a preferential claim to the appointment: if he is a minor, he may be appointed with a *sarbarāhkār* to manage for him till he attains his majority. The headman may be dismissed by the Deputy Commissioner for misconduct, e.g., for dishonesty, for oppressing the ryots and for failure without due cause to pay his village rents punctually. If he pays the village rent punctually he receives a commission; if he defaults, he is liable to dismissal and eviction from the whole or part of his private holding. Dismissal always involves the loss of the official holding which attaches to the post of headman. The official holding consists of lands that have come into his possession by virtue of his office or during his tenure of office, e.g., old *mānjhi mān* that has always been attached to the office, or lands that belonged to a dismissed predecessor and were made over to him when he was appointed, or abandoned holdings that he has not settled with other ryots, or lands of other ryots that he purchased while headman and was allowed to retain at the resettlement. The private holding consists of the headman's ancestral lands together with such lands as he may have himself reclaimed. All the headman's lands, whether official or private, are assessed to rent, but no occupancy rights accrue in the official holding.

The commission is obtained partly from the ryots and partly from the proprietor. The headman is entitled to collect from the ryots one anna per rupee in excess of the settled rent and to receive from the proprietor one anna per rupee on the rent payable to him, if paid in due time, i.e., on or before the appointed *kists*. In the Dāmin-i-koh the system of commission is different from that obtaining in zamindāri areas, for the headman gets no commission from the ryots, but he gets 8 per cent. from Government. The headman has also a right to enjoy rent-free such of the village waste as he

reclaims himself and to recover rents at half the settlement rates for so much of the waste as ryots reclaim. As regards holdings that have become vacant on account of the desertion of ryots or their death without heirs, it is provided that the headman shall settle the entire holding with one or other of the following, giving preference in the order mentioned:—(1) with resident *jamābandī* ryots of the same community; (2) with himself, if resident, or with a resident *jamābandī* ryot of a different community; (3) with himself, if non-resident, or with a non-resident *jamābandī* ryot; and (4) with a non-*jamābandī* ryot. The term *jamābandī* ryot, it may be explained, is held to include the children and heirs of *jamābandī* ryots, and for the purpose of resettlement and reclamation does not include persons who have come into the village solely by purchase; the latter are called *kharidā* ryots. In the Dāmin-i-koh preference is given to a non-resident *jamābandī* ryot of the same community over a resident *jamābandī* ryot of a different community. A settlement with any person other than a resident *jamābandī* ryot of the same community requires the approval of the Settlement Officer.

Other duties incumbent on the headman are to perform certain police functions, the *chaukidār* being subordinate to him, to collect *chaukidāri* and other dues, to see that village irrigation works are kept in repair, and to look after village roads, boundary marks, camping and grazing grounds.

Ryoti rights.

The rent of a village remains unaltered till a fresh rent-roll is prepared under Regulation III of 1872 or Regulation II of 1886. The rent of a ryot's holding is similarly fixed, but a ryot taking up new land is liable to pay rent to the headman for it at half the prevailing rates. Except in a few areas, the interest of an occupancy ryot in his holding is non-transferable. If a holding is abandoned, the village ryots have a preferential claim to settlement; and the district authorities take active steps to evict from the land any person who obtains possession of a ryot's holding to the prejudice of the rights of the villagers. It is provided—(1) that *jamābandī* ryots have a preferential right to reclaim; (2) that no waste land may be settled with an outsider without the consent of the Subdivisional Officer and proprietor; (3) that no *sāl* or reserved trees may be cut down in order to reclaim without the consent of the proprietor; (4) that the ryots, if dissatisfied with the action of the headman in settling waste lands, or of the proprietor in unreasonably refusing to permit the cutting of *sāl* or reserved trees for reclamation, may appeal to the Subdivisional Officer, who has the necessary powers of intervention. Ryots cannot be evicted from their holdings except

by order of the Deputy Commissioner under section 25, Regulation II of 1886, which runs:—"A raiyat, whether recorded as possessing a right of occupancy or not, shall not be ejected from his holding otherwise than in execution of an order of the Deputy Commissioner." It has been held that a sub-tenant or under-ryot is entitled to the protection of this provision of the law. This ruling has tended to prevent sub-letting, as also has another ruling to the effect that rent cannot be recovered from a sub-tenant at higher than settlement rates. As regards inheritance, the person or persons who have been resident in the village, and have taken their part in the management of the family *jot*, are the only persons entitled to succeed to it as heirs on the death of the head of the family.

Ryoti rights are transferable only in a small portion of the district (about 250 square miles) along the borders of Birbhūm, of ryoti rights. Mālāda and Murshidābād, in the *khās* villages of Ambar, Rāj-mahāl, Muhammādābād and Sultānābād. In this area, which is inhabited mostly by Bengalis, transfers have been so frequent as to constitute a custom or have been recognized by Government and the Settlement Officers. Elsewhere transfer has been prohibited owing to the abuses which it caused. The practice of transfer sprung up soon after the conclusion of Mr. Wood's settlement, which gave the ryots stability of tenure and fixity of rents. The result was that occupancy rights became valuable, and the village usurer was not slow to see that here lay a ready means of circumventing the usury laws. In a very short time court and private sales of ryoti holdings became so numerous as to attract the attention of the local officers and of Government, and within 10 years of the settlement it was estimated that there had been about 10,000 cases of the former and 40,000 of the latter. The evil became so great that first the local courts and then Government found it necessary to declare that all transfers not clearly covered by the settlement record were illegal. The orders of Government to this effect were passed in 1887, and the practice of open transfer was immediately checked; but transfers in a disguised form continued, and for the following ten years the local officers had to be constantly on the watch to check the village lands passing into the hands of persons whose intrusion within the village community would have been harmful. When Mr. McPherson's settlement took place the orders, which had gradually been embodied in the agrarian case law of the district, were gathered together in the settlement rules and were sanctioned by Government in 1900. Subsequently the prohibition of transfer contained in those rules was embodied in the substantive

law of the district by the enactment of Regulation III of 1908, by which a new section (27) to that effect was added to Regulation III of 1872.

Parganas and *tappas*. The following is a list of the revenue *parganas* and *tappas* of each subdivision, which, with the Dāmīn-i-koh, constitute the Santal Parganas.

Subdivision.	<i>Pargana or tappa.</i>	Subdivision.	<i>Pargana or tappa</i>
Dumkā ..	Belpattā. Darin Mauleswar (part). Handwe. Muhammadābād.	Jāmtārā... Pākaur ..	Kundahit Kāriaya. Pabbia. Ambar. Sultānābād. Akbarnagar. Bahādurpur. Chitaluā. Ināyatnagar.
Deoghar ...	Sarath Deoghar. Amlamatā. Barkop. Goddā.	Rājmahāl	Jamuni, Kānkjol. Makrain. Sultānganj. Teliāgarhi.
Goddā ...	Manihāri. Passoi. Pātsundā. Sultānābād (part).		

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE administration of the Santal Parganas is conducted under SANTAL special Regulations, the necessity of which was established by the PARGANAS Santal rebellion of 1855 and has been confirmed by the experience REGULATIONS. of more than 50 years. The enquiry into the causes of the rebellion brought to light the unsuitability of the regulation system to the Santal Parganas, inhabited as they are by the Santals and other races far behind Bengalis in civilization. Accordingly, by Act XXXVII of 1855, these *parganas* were formed into a district and exempted from the operation of the general Regulations and Acts, as well as of any laws subsequently passed in which the district was not specially mentioned, except in regard to civil suits above Rs. 1,000 in value, the collection of revenue in permanently-settled estates, the sale of lands for arrears of revenue, etc. The exempted tract was placed under the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur Division assisted by a Deputy Commissioner and a number of Assistant and Extra Assistant Commissioners. In 1856 a few simple rules for civil and criminal administration were laid down for the guidance of these officers; and for some years the Santal Parganas were administered on a strict non-Regulation system. The chief principles of this system were that (1) no advocates, no pleaders or *mukhtars*, and no middlemen between Government officers and the people were permitted; (2) the contact with the people was direct; (3) there was no regular police; and (4) the spirit of the laws not in force was regarded, but no technical forms were allowed.

When the memory of the Santal rebellion grew fainter the Government changed its policy. The rules in regard to the administration of criminal justice remained in operation till 1862, when the Penal Code was introduced; and although the Code of Criminal Procedure was not formally extended to the district, its officers were directed to act in accordance with its spirit. In 1863 a question arose whether the stamp law could not be enforced in the Santal Parganas, and the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Cecil Beadon, expressed his opinion

that the Santal Parganas should, as soon as practicable, be administered on the system in force in the rest of Bengal. These instructions and views were followed for some years, with the result that the Santal Parganas drifted more or less under the ordinary law and procedure of regulation districts. The Rent Law, the Civil Procedure Code, the Stamp Act and other Acts were considered to be in force, and the Deputy Commissioner was practically transformed into a Judge, with headquarters at Bhagalpur.

The dissatisfaction caused by this change of system culminated in the disturbances of 1871. An inquiry was held, which showed that the Santals had real and substantial grievances, and the Government of India came to the conclusion that the indiscriminate extension of some of the Acts of the legislature to the Santal Parganas had worked much mischief, and that the district still required a simpler form of administration than the rest of Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly recommended that the Santal Parganas should be removed from the operation of the laws applicable generally to Bengal and suggested that the best mode of effecting this object was to bring it within the scope of Act 33 Vic. cap 3 (passed in Parliament in March 1870), which enabled Local Governments to make regulations for the peace and good government of territories to which the Act might be applied by the Secretary of State. This measure, followed by a suitable regulation, would, it was believed, place the action of Government on a legal basis, which would be wholly unassailable and which would best enable Government to apply from time to time the exact remedies required for evils which had been or might be shown to exist, without violently or unnecessarily disturbing the law or general administration of the district.

The Government of India acquiesced in this view, and the measure having received the approval of the Secretary of State, a notification was issued announcing the extension of the provisions of Section 1 of Act 33 Vic. cap. 3 to the Santal Parganas. The Government of Bengal then submitted, and the Government of India sanctioned, a Regulation for the peace and good government of the Santal Parganas, which passed into law as Regulation III of 1872. This Regulation gave the Lieutenant-Governor full power to appoint officers to make a settlement of landed rights, to restore dispossessed *mānjis* and others, to settle rents and to record the customs and usages of the people. It also introduced a usury law limiting the accumulation of interest on debts; and it laid down what laws were to be in force in the Santal Parganas.

and what were left to the discretion of Government to introduce or withdraw as might be found desirable from time to time. The Lieutenant-Governor further took away from the Deputy Commissioner his powers as Sessions Judge and assigned them to the Sessions Court of Birbhûm and Bhâgalpur. At the same time, he brought within the Santâl Parganas the administration of civil justice, which for suits of over Rs 1,000 in value had hitherto been exercised by the Civil Courts of those two districts. He further removed the Deputy Commissioner from Bhâgalpur and posted him at Dumkâ, in the heart of his district, in order that he might be able to control its affairs adequately.

It was subsequently found necessary to define more clearly the status of the Courts, and this was effected by the enactment of Regulation V of 1893. In regard to criminal jurisdiction that Regulation constituted the Santâl Parganas a Sessions Division, the Court of the Deputy Commissioner the Court of Sessions of the Division, and the Deputy Commissioner the Judge of the Court of Sessions. It also provided that the High Court at Calcutta should (1) exercise jurisdiction in regard to European British subjects, (2) deal with all cases in which sentences of death had been passed, and (3) hear all appeals from orders of acquittal. In 1899 a regulation amending Regulation V of 1893 came into force. The new Regulation constituted the Court of the Sessions Judge of Birbhûm the Court of Sessions for the Santâl Parganas Sessions Division, and the Sessions Judge of Birbhûm the Judge of the Court of Sessions, the powers of a Sessions Judge exercised by the Deputy Commissioner being withdrawn. It further provided that the High Court at Calcutta, in addition to its jurisdiction under the Regulation of 1893, should exercise appellate and revisional jurisdiction in respect of all Sessions cases tried by the Judge of Birbhûm; that the Deputy Commissioner should have appellate jurisdiction over the subordinate courts of the district; and that the Commissioner should have appellate jurisdiction over the Deputy Commissioner and revisional jurisdiction over all the courts of the district.

For administrative purposes the district is divided into six subdivisions with headquarters at Dumkâ, Deoghar, Goddâ, Jâmtârâ, Pâkaur and Râjmahâl. The sanctioned staff for the headquarters station (Dumkâ) consists of four Deputy Magistrates with first class powers and of two Deputy Magistrates with second or third class powers. At Goddâ, Deoghar and Râjmahâl the Subdivisional Officer is usually assisted by a Deputy and a Sub-Deputy Magistrate, and at Jâmtârâ and Pâkaur by a Sub-Deputy Magistrate. Besides the stipendiary Magistrates there are

Honorary Magistrates at Hirunpur and Pākaur (one each) and Benches of Honorary Magistrates at Deoghar, Madhupur and Sāhibganj.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—The administration of justice in the Santal Parganas is governed by the Santal Parganas Justice Regulation V of 1893, as amended by Regulation III of 1899, and differs materially from that in force elsewhere in Bengal. The jurisdiction of the High Court is restricted to the following matters :—(1) criminal cases tried by the Court of Sessions ; (2) appeals by the Government against acquittals under section 417 of the Criminal Procedure Code ; (3) criminal proceedings against European British subjects and persons charged jointly with them ; and (4) civil suits in which the matter in dispute exceeds the value of Rs. 1,000, except suits relating to land or any office connected with land when a settlement is going on. As regards the former suits its appellate authority is limited to the orders of courts established under Act XII of 1887, which, under section 9 of Regulation V of 1893, have jurisdiction extending only to “suits of which the value exceeds Rs. 1,000 and which are not excluded from their cognizance by the Santal Parganas Regulation or by any other law for the time being : “in the case of such suits the Civil Procedure Code is applicable. In other matters the functions of a High Court of Judicature are exercised by the Commissioner of the Bhāgalpur Division and Santal Parganas.

The Sessions Judge of Birbhūm is Sessions Judge for the Santal Parganas, while the Deputy Commissioner exercises powers under section 34 of the Criminal Procedure Code and also hears appeals from all Deputy Magistrates. Suits of a value exceeding Rs. 1,000 are tried by him as District Judge or by Subdivisional Officers vested with powers as Subordinate Judges, these courts being established under Act XII of 1887 and subordinate to the High Court of Calcutta. Suits valued at less than Rs. 500 are tried by Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors sitting as courts under Act XXXVII of 1855, appeals lying against their decisions to the Subdivisional Officer. The latter can try all suits cognizable by courts established under Act XXXVII of 1855, and an appeal against their decisions lies to the Deputy Commissioner. There is no second appeal where the appellate court has upheld the original decree; but if the decree has been reversed a second appeal lies to the Commissioner of the Division. The Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner have powers of revision.

These courts follow a simple procedure, 38 simple rules replacing the Code of Civil Procedure. A decree is barred after

three years ; imprisonment for debt is subject to the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner ; compound interest may not be decreed for an amount exceeding the principal debt. When any area is brought under settlement the jurisdiction of the courts under Act XII of 1887, and also of those under Act XXXVII of 1855, is ousted in regard to all suits connected with land, and such suits are tried by the Settlement Officer and his assistants. The finding of a settlement court has the force of a decree.

The Penal Code, the Evidence Act, the Registration Act, the Limitation Act, the Contract Act, the Probate and Administration Act and the Guardian and Wards Act are all in force. Practically the only important laws in force in Bengal that are not applicable to the Santal Parganas are the Civil Procedure Code (as regards suits not exceeding Rs. 1,000 in value), the Legal Practitioners' Act, the Transfer of Property Act and the Bengal Tenancy Act. The place of the Act last named is taken by the Santal Parganas Regulations III of 1872 and II of 1886, and by the record-of-rights framed under them for each village. In criminal cases the accused is entitled, under section 340 of the Criminal Procedure Code to be defended by a pleader, but as the Legal Practitioners Act is not in force the employment of a pleader is, under section 4(r) of the Code, subject to the permission of the court. In practice, the accused is allowed a pleader when the police are permitted to conduct the prosecution or when the charge is of a serious or somewhat complex nature ; but pleaders are not usually allowed in simple cases where either of the parties is too poor to afford one. In cases before the Sessions Judge pleaders are allowed as a matter of course.

In suits tried by Subdivisional Officers, in their capacity as Subordinate Judges, the parties are considered to be entitled to employ pleaders, and it is laid down that these suits have to be tried according to the general laws and regulations. As regards civil cases before the Santal Courts the usual practice is to allow pleaders when both sides can afford it and ask for it. If the request is refused it is only when the case is of a very simple nature and the parties would be merely wasting their money in employing pleaders. When one party is poor and cannot afford a pleader the court may, at its discretion, refuse to allow a pleader's services to be retained by the other party. In appeals pleaders are almost always allowed if asked for. Cases very often occur in which the courts themselves advise the parties to engage pleaders, but they decline to have them as they have learned to trust the courts to give their cases proper consideration. In spite of these limitations, there is a body of 107 legal practitioners, men who have fully qualified

as pleaders and *mukhtars* and apparently get sufficient employment to make it worth their while to work in the district. There is also a body of petition-writers, licensed by the Deputy Commissioner and Subdivisional Officers, who are to all intents and purposes qualified to draw up plaints and written statements, and to this extent do the work of legal practitioners.

POLICE.

The regular police system is in force in Dumkā town, in the Deoghar subdivision and in those parts of the Goddā, Pākaur and Rājmahāl subdivisions which lie outside the Dāmin-i-koh. In this part of the district there are 5 thānas and 11 outposts as shown in the margin, and in 1907 the regular police force consisted of a Superintendent of Police, 8 inspectors, 37 sub-inspectors, 45 head constables and 388 constables—in all

479 men. The remainder of the district substitutes what is known as the "No Police Tract," i.e., the Jāmtārā subdivision, those parts of the Goddā, Pākaur and Rājmahāl subdivisions which lie inside the Dāmin-i-koh, and the whole of the Dumkā subdivision except Dumkā town. These portions of the district are excluded from the jurisdiction of the regular police, and police duties are performed by village headmen under rules laid down in 1856, which are called "Yule's Rules" after the then Commissioner, Sir George Yule. The main principle of these rules was that the people should be their own police, and for this purpose the *mānjhis* of the village communities were given certain police powers and duties. In other areas police duties were to be performed by the zamindāri *mandals*, and if the latter failed to perform them, the villagers were to select their own *mandals* for the purpose, the latter being known as *sarkāri mandals* or *jeth-rayates*. Under this system the villages were grouped together under *parganaits* or Santal tribal chiefs, *sardārs* or Pahāria tribal chiefs, and *ghātawāls* or service tenure-holders, each of whom corresponded to a thāna officer.

The system of village police administration was reorganized in 1901 and 1902 in consequence of the enactment of Regulation III of 1900 which first gave the rural police a legal status, and provided for their regular payment. It did not affect the police duties of the village headmen, but it provided for the appointment of *sardārs* and deputy *sardārs* to perform the duties of control which were formerly carried out by the *parganaits*, *ghātawāls* and others, and it gave the Deputy Commissioner power to fix their remuneration and that of the *chaukidārs*, who are selected by the

villagers. The assessment to be paid by each village, having been fixed by him, is distributed among the villagers and is collected from them by their headmen. Under this system the "No Police Tract," outside the ordinary police jurisdiction, is served by *sardārs* and *chaukidārs*, who act directly under the authority of the Sub-divisional Officers. The *sardār* is appointed to groups of villages where there is no properly remunerated officer; where there is an important *hāt* or a town, he is assisted by a deputy *sardār*. He has the powers of an officer in charge of a *thāna*, and his office is thus not unlike that of a police sub-inspector, but has come to have a more or less hereditary character, the old *parganaits* and *ghātwāls* having been appointed *sardārs* whenever they were found to be literate and possessed the confidence of the people. Crime is ordinarily reported by the *sardārs* direct to the Sub-divisional Officers, who occasionally find it necessary to employ an officer of the regular police upon cases of a serious and intricate nature. The *sardāri* circle forms an administrative unit except in parts of the Dāmin-i-koh, where the unit is the Bungalow within the jurisdiction of a *parganait*. There are in the Dāmin-i-koh 47 *parganaits*; and in addition to the *parganaits* 20 Paharia *sardārs*, 1 *naik*, 36 *naibs* and 436 *mānjhis* are still in receipt of stipends, which were first granted during Cleveland's administration. In the rest of the Dumkā subdivision there are 59 stipendiary *sardārs*, 4 *ghāt sardārs* remunerated by grants of land, and 752 *chaukidārs*, and in the Jāmtārā subdivision 2 *ghātwāls*, 27 *sardārs* and 523 *chaukidārs*.

There are subsidiary jails at Deoghar, Goddā, Rājmahāl, JAILS. Jāmtārā and Pākaur, and a district jail at Dumkā. In 1907 the sub-jail at Deoghar had accommodation for 21 male and 3 female prisoners, the sub-jail at Goddā for 20 males and 5 females, the sub-jail at Rājmahāl for 16 males and 3 females, the sub-jail at Jāmtārā for 23 males and 3 females, and that at Pākaur for 17 males and 4 females. The jail at Dumkā has accommodation for 138 (131 male and 7 female) prisoners distributed as follows:—Barracks without separate sleeping accommodation are provided for 86 male convicts, 7 female convicts and 30 under-trial prisoners; the hospital holds 12 prisoners; and there are separate cells for 3 male convicts. The principal industries carried on in the jail are cloth-weaving, husking paddy and extracting alce fibre.

The revenue of the district under the main heads rose from REVENUE. Rs. 4,70,000 in 1880-81 (when the income-tax had not been imposed) to Rs. 5,63,000 in 1890-91, and to Rs. 6,79,000 in 1900-01. In 1907-08 it amounted to Rs. 10,94,000, of which

Rs. 4,02,000 were derived from land revenue, Rs. 4,58,000 from excise, Rs. 1,80,000 from stamps, Rs. 45,000 from income-tax and Rs. 9,000 from cesses.

Land Revenue.

The collections of land revenue aggregated Rs. 2,43,000 in 1880-81, Rs. 2,90,000 in 1890-91 and Rs. 2,88,000 in 1900-01. They rose to Rs. 4,02,000 in 1907-08, when they accounted for nearly two-fifths of the total revenue of the district, this large increase being due to settlement operations. The current demand in the year last mentioned was Rs. 4,02,000 payable by 465 estates, Rs. 1,16,000 being due from 448 permanently-settled estates, Rs. 1,500 from 3 temporarily-settled estates and Rs. 2,84,500 from 14 estates held direct by Government.

Excise.

The excise revenue increased from Rs. 1,65,000 in 1892-93 to Rs. 2,19,000 in 1900-01. Since that year there has been a further growth in the receipts, which in 1907-08 amounted to Rs. 4,58,000, the net excise revenue being Rs. 2,344 per 10,000 of the population (or a little over $3\frac{3}{4}$ annas a head), as compared with Rs. 2,697 for the Division and Rs. 3,206 for the Province. The greater portion of the excise revenue is derived from the sale of country spirit prepared by distillation from the flower of the *mahuā* tree (*Bassia latifolia*). The receipts from this source amounted in 1907-08 to Rs. 2,78,000 or more than three-fifths of the total excise revenue. The manufacture and sale of country spirit were until recently carried on under what is known as the central distillery system, i.e., there was a central distillery at the headquarters station of Nayā Dumkā which served the district as a whole. In 1907-08 the contract supply system was introduced in Deoghar, Jamtārā, Rājmahāl and Pākaur subdivisions, i.e., the supply of spirit to these places from the central distillery has been prohibited and a contract for the wholesale supply of spirit given out to a firm of distillers. The contractors are forbidden to hold any retail licenses for its sale, but are allowed the use of distillery and warehouse buildings for the storage of liquor. The right of retail vend is disposed of by separate shops, each of which is put up to auction; and the retail vendors are forbidden to sell liquor except at prescribed strengths, for which maximum prices are fixed. The central distillery system is still in force in the

Year.	Rs.	Dumkā and Goddā subdivisions. The marginal figures show the revenue from country spirit in 1889-90 under the outstill system, in 1905-06 under the central distillery system and in 1907-08 under that and the contract system combined. According to the returns for the year last mentioned, there are 141 shops for retail sale,
1889-90	.. 54,000	
1905-06	.. 1,56,000	
1907-08	.. 2,78,000	

i.e., one retail shop to every 38·8 square miles and every 12,835 persons. The average consumption is 46 proof gallons per 1,000 of the population, the incidence of taxation per head of the population being 2½ annas.

The receipts from *pachwai*, or rice beer, are also considerable, amounting to Rs. 58,000 in 1907-08. This is the national drink of the aborigines, who regard it as a nutritious food and utilize it as a substitute for a meal. The consumption of the fermented liquor known as *tari* is not great, its sale in the same year realizing only Rs. 20,000. The receipts from hemp drugs and opium account for practically all the remainder of the excise revenue. The greater part (Rs. 79,000) is derived from the duty and license fees levied on *gānja*, i.e., the dried flowering tops of the cultivated female hemp plant (*Cannabis sativa*) and the resinous exudation on them. The expenditure on hemp drugs represents Rs. 447 per 10,000 of the population, as compared with the average of Rs. 548 in the whole of Bengal. In 1907-08 the duty and license fees on opium brought in Rs. 20,000, and the incidence of expenditure was Rs. 113 per 10,000 of the population as compared with the Provincial average of Rs. 516 per 10,000.

The revenue from stamps ranks next in importance as a *stamps* source of income to that derived from excise. The receipts from this source increased from Rs. 1,38,000 in 1897-98 to Rs. 1,80,000 in 1907-08, or by 30 per cent., the increase being due to the growing demand for judicial stamps, which brought in Rs. 1,53,000 as against Rs. 1,05,000 ten years previously. The sale of court-fee stamps is by far the most important item in the receipts from judicial stamps, realizing Rs. 1,36,000 as compared with Rs. 98,000 in 1897-98. The revenue derived from non-judicial stamps declined during the same period from Rs. 33,000 to Rs. 27,000. Of the latter sum impressed stamps accounted for Rs. 26,000 or nearly the whole of the receipts from non-judicial stamps.

The Cess Act was introduced in 1901 into some selected *cesses*. portions of the district, in which resettlement operations had been concluded, and cesses were levied from the beginning of 1905-06 when the valuation of the resettled estates had been completed. They are, as usual, levied at the maximum rate of one anna in the rupee. The current demand in 1907-08 was Rs. 7,974 of which Rs. 7,958 were payable by 82 revenue-paying estates, while only Rs. 16 were due from seven revenue-free estates. The number of tenures assessed to cesses was 308, while the number of recorded shareholders of estates and tenures was 226 and 551 respectively. The operation of the Act will gradually be extended as other estates are resettled.

Income-tax. In 1900-01 the income-tax yielded altogether Rs. 29,803 paid by 1,472 assessees, of whom 940, paying Rs. 10,720, had incomes over Rs. 500 but below Rs. 1,000. At that time the minimum assessable income was Rs. 500, but this was raised in 1903, by the Income-tax Amendment Act of that year, to Rs. 1,000 per annum, thereby affording relief to a number of petty traders, money-lenders and clerks. The number of assessee consequently fell in 1903-04 to 758, the net collections being Rs. 32,200. In 1907-08 the amount collected was Rs. 45,000 paid by 917 assessees.

Registration. There are six offices for the registration of assurances under Act III of 1877. At the headquarters station (Naya Dumkā) the District Sub-Registrar deals, as usual, with the documents presented there, and assists the Deputy Commissioner, who is *ex-officio* District Registrar, in supervising the proceedings of the Sub-Registrars who are in charge of the other registration offices. The average number of documents registered annually during the quinquennium ending in 1904 was 6,976 as against 8,658 in the preceding five years, there being a decrease of over 19 per cent., which is attributed to the prohibition of alienations of ryoti holdings being more strictly enforced during the settlement operations, in consequence of which the inducement to enter into mortgage transactions diminished. There was, on the other hand, a marked increase in bonds. This would naturally follow the discouragement of mortgages; but it is also due to the growing appreciation of the benefits of registration by the mercantile class that lends money and deals in *sabai* grass as a material for the manufacture of paper.

The marginal statement shows the number of documents registered and the receipts and expenditure of each

NAME.	Documents registered.	Receipts.		Expenditure.
		Rs.	Rs.	
Naya Dumkā ..	960	1,819	1,405	
Denghar ..	1,253	1,740	1,386	
Goddū ...	391	691	1,273	
Jāmtarā ...	310	494	425	
Pakaurā ...	1,664	1,849	1,477	
Kājmābāl ..	2,827	2,885	2,096	
Total ...	7,405	8,978	8,012	

office in 1908.

CHAPTER XIV.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE Local Self-Government Act has not been extended to the DISTRICT district, and until a few years ago the Cess Act (IX of 1880) ROAD COM- was not in force. It was decided by Government in 1899 that MITTEE. the provisions of the latter Act should be gradually introduced into the district (excluding the Damin-i-koh) as portions of it came under resettlement: but its introduction was delayed by the fact that most of the zamindari estates are borne on the revenue roll of other districts. It was eventually introduced by a notification, dated 20th August 1901, into certain tracts which had recently been resettled, and it will gradually be extended as resettlement operations are completed. For those portions of the district which are not under the operation of the Act, and in which therefore there are no cess collections, funds are provided by a special Government grant. This grant and the receipts under the Cess Act are administered by the District Road Committee, consisting of 9 members, of whom three are *ex-officio* and the rest are non-official members, with the Deputy Commissioner as Chairman. This body maintains 3 dāk bungalows at Dumkā, Rājmahāl and Sāhibganj, and is in charge of the district roads, 43 in number, with a total length of 840 miles, and of 4 village roads with a length of 33 miles. It carries out agricultural and sanitary improvements in the Dāmin-i-koh, such as constructing, repairing and improving tanks, wells and irrigation reservoirs (*bāndhs*). It also constructs primary school buildings from grants placed at its disposal by the Education Department for that purpose, and it pays the travelling allowance of a Veterinary Assistant. The funds which it administers consist mainly of a Government grant and the cess on land, which is levied at the maximum rate and amounted to Rs. 4,186 in 1907-08. The amount realized from the cess will increase when estates borne on the revenue roll of other districts are valued and assessed, and will increase still further as the result of resettlement in this district.

There are four municipalities in the district, viz., Deoghar, MUNICIPALITIES. Dumkā, Madhupur and Sāhibganj.

Deoghar. The Deoghar Municipality was constituted in 1869 and is administered by a Municipal Board consisting of 16 Commissioners, of whom 7 are nominated by Government and 9 are elected. The area within municipal limits is $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles with a population of 7,019 persons, the number of rate-payers being only 951 or 13·54 per cent. of the population. The annual average income of the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 9,500, and the expenditure was Rs. 8,500, the corresponding figures for 1907-08 being Rs. 15,662 (excluding the opening balance) and Rs. 15,395 respectively. The rates and taxes consist of (1) a tax on persons in Ward I, according to their circumstances and property; (2) a rate on holdings in Wards II, III and IV at 6 per cent. of their annual value; (3) latrine fees at 3 per cent. on the annual value of holdings containing dwelling houses; (4) a tax on animals and vehicles; and (5) a tax on professions and trades. The incidence of taxation in 1907-08 was Re. 1-12-1 per head of the population.

Dumkā. The Dumkā Municipality was constituted in 1903 and is administered by a Municipal Board consisting of 10 Commissioners, of whom 7 are nominated and 3 are *ex-officio* members. The area within municipal limits is $1\frac{1}{2}$ square mile with a population of 5,326, the number of rate-payers being 1,023 or 19·20 per cent. of the population. The receipts in 1907-08 amounted to Rs. 8,684 (excluding the opening balance), and the expenditure was Rs. 6,573. The greater portion of its income is obtained from municipal rates and taxes, the most important of which is a rate on holdings at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their annual value. This rate realized Rs. 4,020 in 1907-08, while Rs. 1,350 were obtained from a tax on animals and vehicles and Rs. 1,420 from a conservancy rate. The latter rate is levied at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the annual value of holdings, provided that it must not be less than one anna or more than one rupee a month. The incidence of taxation in the same year was Re. 1-7-1 per head of the population and was less than in Deoghar and Sahibganj.

Madhupur. The municipality of Madhupur has recently been constituted by a notification of the 3rd April 1909. The municipality has a population of 5,665 persons and includes the following villages:—Paniākola, Patharchapti, Sheikhpurā, Bherwā, Lakkhā, Sapahā, Teliābānk and Madhupur (*Khās*). The Municipal Board is to consist of 10 Commissioners, and it is estimated that the approximate annual income will be Rs. 7,700.

Sāhibganj. The Sāhibganj Municipality was constituted in 1883 and is administered by a Municipal Board consisting of 9 Commissioners, of whom six are elected, one is nominated and two are *ex-officio*

members. The area within municipal limits is $1\frac{3}{4}$ square mile, with a population of 7,894 persons, the number of rate-payers being 1,648 or 20·87 per cent. of the population. The average annual income for the decade ending in 1901-02 was Rs. 15,000, and the expenditure was Rs. 14,000; the corresponding figures for 1907-08 were Rs. 21,467 (excluding the opening balance) and Rs. 20,149. The incidence of taxation in 1907-08 was Rs. 2-3-6, the rates and taxes levied being (1) a rate on holdings at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their annual value ; (2) a conservancy rate at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the annual value of holdings; (3) a tax on animals and vehicles ; and (4) a tax on professions and trade.

CHAPTER XV.

EDUCATION.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION. THE figures in the marginal table will sufficiently illustrate

Year.	Schools.	Scholars.	the progress made in education since 1873, when a definite system of vernacular education was first introduced. In spite, however, of the advance which has been made,
1873 ...	116	1,169	
1891 ...	881	18,164	
1901 ...	1,002	22,755	
1908 ...	1,030	27,326	

it must be admitted that the district is a backward one, chiefly because the population is mainly composed of aborigines, who have little thirst for knowledge. This is made clear by the census statistics of 1901, according to which only 2·5 per cent. of the population (4·7 males and 0·2 females) are literate, i.e., able to read and write. On the other hand considerable progress appears to have been made since 1891, when only 2·8 per cent. of the male population were literate; and the returns for 1907-08 seem to show that this progress has been maintained, as 19·1 per cent. of the boys of school-going age were attending school at the close of the year.

Of the 1,030 schools shown in the above table 951 are public institutions, 26 being under the management of Government, while 701 are aided and 224 are unaided. They include 5 High English schools, 11 Middle English schools, 14 Middle Vernacular schools, 888 Primary schools, 15 training schools, 15 *maktabs*, 1 *madrasa*, 1 Sanskrit school and 1 railway school. There are also 79 private institutions, which do not comply with the departmental standards, viz., 65 Vernacular schools, 3 Sanskrit *tuls* and 11 Koran schools. The number of pupils on the rolls of the private institutions in 1908 was 989, and of the public institutions 26,337.

INSPECTING STAFF. The inspecting staff consists of a Deputy Inspector of Schools for the district as a whole, an Additional Deputy Inspector to assist him in inspecting schools, 6 Sub-Inspectors (one for each subdivision), 4 Sub-Inspectors of Santal schools in the Dumka, Godda, Jāmtāra and Pākaur subdivisions, an Assistant Sub-Inspector in the Mahāgāma *thāna* of the Godda subdivision, 14 Inspecting Pandits, and 2 Santal Inspecting Pandits.

There are 5 High schools, of which the Dumkā Zilā School, ^{SECONDARY} with 174 boys on the rolls, is managed by Government. The other four schools, which are situated at Deoghar, Goddā, Jāmtārā and Pākaur, are aided by Government, and in 1908 had altogether 572 boys on the rolls. There are also 11 Middle English schools, with an attendance of 837 pupils, of which 7 are aided by Government and 4 are unaided. The number of Middle Vernacular schools is 14, of which 3 are managed by Government and 11 are aided: they are attended by 514 boys and 286 girls.

There are 861 Primary schools for boys and 27 Primary schools for girls, attended by 22,555 and 590 pupils respectively. Of the former 122 are Upper Primary schools with 4,780 pupils, and 739 are Lower Primary schools with 17,775 pupils. Altogether 15 night schools are at work, but the system is said not to be a success in this district.

Altogether 34 girls' schools were in existence in 1908, *viz.*, 4 ^{GIRLS'} schools, Middle Vernacular schools with 282 pupils, 2 Upper Primary schools with 61 pupils, 25 Lower Primary schools with 529 pupils, 1 training school with 40 pupils and 2 miscellaneous schools. The total attendance at these schools was 955, of whom 916 were girls. Besides these, 555 girls were reading in boys' schools, so that the total number of girls under instruction was 1,471, only one in every 93 girls of school-going age being at school.

In 1906-07 there were 6 Guru Training schools in the district, ^{OTHER} one having been started for each subdivision, and 5 more were opened in 1907-08. These 11 schools are managed by Government; and there are also 4 training schools for Santal Gurus (3 for male teachers and 1 for female teachers), which are aided by Government, but are under the direct supervision and management of the missionaries at Benāgarhiā and Taljhari. Of other schools the only one calling for special mention is the railway school at Madhupur.

The Muhammadans in this district number 151,993 or 8·3 per cent. of the population, while the number of Muhammadan pupils ^{EDUCATION OF MUHAMMADANS} is 3,194, representing 10·7 per cent. of pupils of all creeds. The chief Muhammadan educational institution is the Madrasa at Dilāpur in the Rājmahāl subdivision, which has 44 pupils. It is supported by private subscriptions and gives free education and boarding to the pupils, who are taught Arabic, Persian, Urdu and theology. For the encouragement of elementary secular education among Musalmāns a grant of Rs. 500 is made every year in aid of those elementary Korān schools which are willing to adopt the departmental primary course.

**EDUCA-
TION OF
ABORIGI-
NALS.**

According to the departmental returns, the number of aborigines under instruction in 1907-08 was 7,787, of whom 7,070 were non-Christians and 717 were Christians, *e.g.*, 691 Santals and 26 Paharias. Special measures are adopted for diffusing education among the aboriginal races of the district, particularly among the Santals. Of 41 Lower Primary scholarships 13 have been reserved for aboriginal pupils since 1904-05; there is a special primary grant of Rs 9,200 per annum for Santal schools; and these schools have a special inspecting staff consisting of 4 Sub-Inspectors and 2 Inspecting Pandits, who are generally recruited from among the Santals. There is, moreover, an Inspecting Pandit entertained by the Church Missionary Society at Pathra in the Goddā subdivision for inspecting the Paharia schools under the control of that society. Much has also been done by the missionaries established at other places, *e.g.*, Benāgarhiā and Taljhari, who have opened schools in different parts of the district and have created a written Santali language. There seems to be no doubt that education is spreading among the Santals, and at present a number of Santals are employed as clerks, teachers, process-serving peons, road *sarkārs*, policemen and vaccinators; while unpaid Santals render useful service in police-work, road-making, the registration of statistics, etc.

CHAPTER XVI.

GAZEITEER.

Ambar.—A *pargana* in the north-east of the Pākaur subdivision. The estate comprising this *pargana* has long been held by a family of Kanauj Brāhmans, whose tradition of origin is as follows. It is said that during the reign of Akbar a pestilence broke out in Kanauj, and a number of its inhabitants, both Hindus and Muhammadans, migrated to this part of the country, which was then covered with dense forest, and brought it under cultivation. When Rājā Pratāpāditya of the Sundarbans rose in rebellion and Mān Singh was sent against him in command of the imperial troops, one of the ancestors of the present proprietors assisted Mān Singh with a body of aborigines. As a reward for his services he was given a grant of this *pargana* in *jāgir*, and the tract was called Ambar after the province of Ambar in Rājputāna, the home of Man Singh. The *pargana* originally stretched across the Rājmahāl Hills, and its Rājās were the overlords of the Maler of Saurpal or Sumarpal. The latter tract in course of time became a separate *tappa* and was included by Cleveland in the Dāmin-i-koh; while the plains portion of the estate, which retained the name of Ambar and was in possession of the Brāhman proprietors, was transferred at Cleveland's instance from the Rajshāhi district to Bhāgalpur in 1781. At the time of Buchanan Hamilton (1809) the estate was held by Prithi Chānd Sāhi, who is still remembered as a Sanskrit scholar, poet, essayist and builder of temples. The last proprietor was Sitesh Chandra Pānde, who had the title of Rājā conferred on him in 1891. He died in 1900 and was succeeded by Kumār Kālī Dās Pānde, during whose minority the estate is under the management of the Court of Wards. The rent-roll of the estate is Rs. 89,000 and its land revenue Rs. 9,255.

Baidyanāth.—A junction on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway in the north-west of the Deoghar subdivision. The name properly belongs to the town of Deoghar, which is called Baidyanāth-Deoghar by the Postal Department, the village situated at the junction being locally called Jasidih. For the

history of Baidyanāth the reader is referred to the article on Deoghar.

Barkop.—A *tappa* in the Goddā subdivision, with an area of about 20 square miles, situated between *pargana* Goddā on the south and *tappa* Pātsundā on the north. It is said to have derived its name from an old village of the same name containing twelve ancient wells (*bārah-kūp*). According to local tradition, the estate was formerly held by Nat Rājās, but during the reign of Akbar came into the possession of a Khetauri family. The head of the family was one Deb Barm, a Khetauri chief of Kharagpur (in Monghyr), who, being driven out of that tract by Rājput invaders, settled in Pātsundā, having obtained a grant of Pātsundā and Barkop from the Mughal Viceroy. In 1687 the estate was divided between two of his descendants, Mani Barm retaining Barkop, while Pātsundā was handed over to his younger brother, Chandra Barm. The proprietor at the time of the Permanent Settlement was one Ujit Barm, who died without male issue in 1835, leaving two widows, Lilābati and Bhulanbatī. After the death of Lilābati Bhulanbatī adopted Chandra Dayāl Barm, of the Pātsundā family, in 1875. She died shortly afterwards, and the estate came under the Court of Wards. The validity of the adoption was disputed by the sons of Lilābati's daughter, who had married into the Handwe family. A compromise was effected by Mr. Barlow, the Commissioner, according to which the proprietary right was split up among the rival claimants. The estate is now encumbered with debt, and half of it has already been alienated by sale. The rent-roll is about Rs. 80,000 and the land revenue demand is Rs. 2,783-13-0.

There are a few places of interest in the estate which may suitably be mentioned here. In the village of Bastara there is a large tank, said to date from time immemorial. It is held sacred by Hindus, who come in large numbers to bathe in it during the Sankrānti festival of Chait, the festival being the occasion for a fair. A legend connected with the tank is that formerly people requiring cooking or other utensils for marriages or other social ceremonies had only to ask for them and they appeared miraculously from the waters of the tank. They were bound to return them to the tank when they were no longer wanted, and he who did not do so was visited by some calamity or misfortune. In course of time the people, growing dishonest, did not give back the articles they had borrowed, and the supply stopped for ever. It is also believed that no one has ever been able to cross the tank from one end to another whether by swimming, on an elephant or in a boat; if any one ventured to make

the attempt he would find mysterious chains encircling his feet and dragging him down to a watery grave. This property the tank is believed to retain even now, and nobody ever thinks of crossing it. At Kurma there is an old building which is said to have been built by the Viceroy Shâh Shuja, a brother of Aurangzeb, as a *shikargâh* or hunting lodge, and at Bodra, about 4 miles from Barkop, there is an old stone temple dedicated to Mahâdeva. Shalput, 6 miles north of Barkop, contains the *dargâh* or tomb of Pir Sagonâ Shâh, who is regarded by the Muhammadans of the locality as a great saint. He is said to have performed his devotions on the top of Saurari hill, where some ruins mark his retreat. Within the premises of the house occupied by the descendants of Râjâ Ajit Barm there is an old building, said to have belonged to the Nat Râjâs, one room in which is believed to be haunted and is not used by the present owners. At Kapaita, 6 miles from Barkop, there are the ruins of another building, which is said to have belonged to one of the same Râjâs.

Belpatta.—A *tappa* in the south of the Dumka subdivision. This *tappa* formerly was held by the Râjas of Birbhûm, but was transferred to Bhâgalpur in 1781 on the recommendation of Cleveland, who brought it under the hill system. It is now broken up into numerous estates, and has passed into the hands of purchasers who have nothing to do with the original family of proprietors. It includes three *talukas*, viz., Uparbahal, Sapchala and Amgâchi.

Dâmin-i-koh.—A Government estate in the north-east of the district extending over 1,356 square miles and including portions of the Râjmahâl, Pâkaur, Goddâ and Dumka subdivisions. The name is a Persian one, meaning the skirts of the hills, but the estate comprises not only, as might be supposed from the name, the country lying at the foot or on the slopes of the Rajmahâl Hills, but almost the whole range between the Ganges on the north and the Brâhmani river on the south. The tract it covers consists of hills surrounded by flat country, with fertile valleys lying, in some instances, between parallel ranges. The average altitude is from 200 to 1,500 feet, and on the tops of the hills, especially towards the south, there are extensive tablelands suitable for plough cultivation. The valleys lying at the foot of the hills are well-watered by streams, and are cultivated and inhabited for the most part by Santals. The latter are comparatively recent immigrants, the Dâmin-i-koh having been formerly inhabited only by the Pahârias, who were chiefly known and feared as freebooters and cattle-lifters. The Muhammadan rulers seem to have made no

attempt to subjugate and civilize these caterans, and beyond granting *yāgirs* or *ghālwāls* to the zamindārs of the neighbouring tracts, in order that they might entertain a militia to keep the hillmen within bounds, they seem to have left them alone.

After the disruption of the Mughal government the raids of the Paharias increased to such an extent that the zamindārs of the neighbouring tracts were unable to keep them in check. In 1772 a corps of light infantry was raised by the British Government to check their raids, this corps being placed under the command of Captain Brooke, who was succeeded by Captain Browne in 1774. Both these officers led successful expeditions through the Dāmin-i-koh, and the latter devised a scheme of police posts at important points for the pacification of the hillmen. It was left, however, to Augustus Cleveland, who became Collector of Bhāgalpur in 1779, to bring the hillmen really under subjection. Seeing that the police posts were insufficient, many of them having been abandoned he took steps to re-establish them and to complete the *chaukibandi* or line of posts round the hills. He also realized that if the Paharias were really to be pacified they must be conciliated. With this object he proposed to pay 26 Paharia chiefs monthly stipends of Rs. 10 each and 58 deputy chiefs Rs. 5 each in consideration of their performing the duties of police in the hills and preventing incursions into the plains. Government agreed to this proposal and also sanctioned, in 1781, a scheme put forward by Cleveland for raising a corps of archers which would preserve the peace in the hills and punish marauders. Notwithstanding the raising of this corps, the stipends continued to be paid to the chiefs and deputies, as well as a stipend of Rs. 2 per mensem to the headmen of each hill that supplied a man to the corps. Cleveland also had the hill people removed from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; and, by a special order of Government, a council of hill chiefs, presided over by Cleveland himself, tried all cases in which the hillmen were concerned. This system proved successful, crimes of violence being reduced to a minimum; but after Cleveland's death in 1784, the administration of his system was practically left in the hands of a corrupt native officer, Abdul Rasul Khān, who was known as the *Sasāwal* of the hills.

At this time there was a broad belt of country at the base of the hills, devoid of cultivation and covered with forest. When Cleveland removed the hill area from the ordinary jurisdiction, he also removed from the jurisdiction of the zamindārs this tract of forest, which he named the Dāmin-i-koh or skirts of the hills. He held that it was the property of the hillmen, and it

was a part of his scheme to induce them to leave their hills, and establish themselves in the plains, by assigning to them freehold grants of land on condition that they cleared and cultivated them on long leases. The area that he proposed to allot for cultivation was not demarcated, but was roughly taken to be all the forest and waste land at the foot of the hills. The Pahārias, however, failed to cultivate the area set apart for them and allowed the Santals to enter upon their reservation, cut down the forests and bring the land under the plough.

In 1818 Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Bhāgalpur, was deputed to make an enquiry regarding the administration of the hills and the lands adjoining them. He recommended in 1819 that Government should declare its exclusive rights as proprietor of the hills generally occupied by the hill people, and also of the country at the foot of the hills which was not held by zamindārs. Government accepted his recommendation, and in a resolution, dated the 17th July 1823, declared that the hill people had become the direct ryots of Government and that all the rights that might at any previous time have attached to the zamindārs and others over the hills and contiguous tracts of land occupied by the Pahārias must be regarded as having ceased. It held that the settlement of this point was merely of importance as clearing the way to a proper understanding of the question to whom the adjacent forests were to be assigned. In other respects it was of little moment, as "Government can have no desire to interfere with the existing possessions of the hill people in the mountains or to assert any right incompatible with their free enjoyment of all which their labour can obtain from that sterile soil."

The resolution went on as follows:—"There seems from what is stated by Mr. Sutherland to be abundant reason to conclude that, on introducing the system adopted in 1780 for the pacification of the hills, it was the intention of Government to take both the hills and adjacent forests into its own direct management. The reasons were:—(1) The *Sazdwal* was always designated *Sasāwal* of the hills and of the Dāmin-i-koh or skirts of the hills. (2) Both Captain Browne and Mr. Cleveland made many appropriations of lands in the forests and skirts of the hills as well to *ghātwāls* and invalids as to different persons willing to clear and cultivate them, and this they did without reference to the claims of the adjoining Rājās and zamindārs. (3) It was a part of the projected system to settle the hillmen in the forest and thus to promote both their civilization and their improvement of the country at the same time. This plan was specially submitted to and approved by Government, which sufficiently proves

that the forests were considered to be exclusively at its disposal. (4) The *sanads* granted to the *ghātrāls* have a clause authorizing them to assign land in the forest to any hill people who might be desirous of settling them without any advertence to the consent of the zamīndār. (5) The zamīndārs have no title to urge to the Dāmin-i-kōh that would not, if admitted, include the hills also, for the two do not appear to have been ever separated before. Hence, as the pacification of the hills was made by resuming their interests and excluding their influence from the tract, it would seem naturally to follow that their seigniorial rights over both were annulled at the same time."

The result of this resolution was that in 1824 Mr. J. P. Ward was directed to assert the right of Government to the hilly tract, or Dāmin-i-koh, on the exterior range, to define the extent of it, and to lay down such permanent boundary marks as might allow of it being easily retraced. He was also required to report, after consulting with the Magistrate, whether it would be advisable to assign the tract, when defined, to the hill people in *jāgir* tenure or to dispose of it in any other mode. In compliance with these orders Mr. Ward made a demarcation of the Dāmin-i-koh between 1824 and 1833, and erected masonry pillars in a ring-fence round the outer margin of the hills which hem in the Dāmin-i-koh. This boundary is practically that which exists at the present day. The demarcation was carried out with the express object of reserving the Dāmin-i-koh for the Pahārias alone, and granting its fertile valleys as lands to be cultivated by them and their descendants free of rent for ever. In the course of his demarcation Mr. Ward made two discoveries. He found that the Pahārias would not come down from their hills, as was expected, nor engage in tillage; while on the borders, and even inside the demarcated tract, he found a tribe of immigrants newly come from Singhbhūm, whom he called Sontars, and who were clearing the forests and reclaiming the waste lands. In many cases the hill *sardārs* were taking rent from them for their newly settled villages; and in reporting the fact to the Board of Revenue Mr. Ward asked how these usurpations were to be dealt with. He also proposed to introduce the Santals into the Dāmin-i-koh as there was no prospect of the hillmen ever undertaking its cultivation, and the Santals were "an industrious race of people, who require only good treatment to make them useful and profitable ryots."

The Board of Revenue answered this reference by desiring Mr. Ward to resume the settlements usurped by the hillmen and forwarded his proposal to form Santal settlements to the

Government, with a strong recommendation that it should be sanctioned. The Government, however, true to the traditional policy of reserving this tract for the hillmen, refused to accede to it and were in favour of assigning the Paharias one-half of the cultivated land included within the demarcated line, under free-hold grants, on condition that they cultivated it within a specified period. The areas of the grants were to be graduated according to the rank of the grantee, e.g., *sardār*, *nāib*, or simple *mānjhī*. A large number of such grants were made by Mr. Ward and subsequently by Mr. Pontet, who was appointed Superintendent of the Dāmin-i-koh in 1837. A very few of these grants still exist; the remainder were speedily forfeited, as the grantees either made no attempts to clear them or at once assigned them to Santal settlers, from whom they took rents. In spite of this Government still insisted that the demarcated area should be reserved for the benefit of the hillmen, and there is no record that this prohibition was ever formally removed. In 1837, however, when Mr. Dunbar, the then Collector of Bhāgalpur, after a personal conference with the Board of Revenue and with the Government, obtained sanction to the appointment of Mr. Pontet as Superintendent of the Dāmin-i-koh, the latter was directed, in order to make the estate productive, to give every encouragement to Santals in the work of clearing jungle.

Mr. Pontet, who is still remembered as L'onteen Sāheb, remained in charge of the Dāmin-i-koh till after the Santal insurrection of 1855. He had his headquarters at Bhāgalpur and used to tour in the estate during the cold season and collect the rents. He opened it up by means of roads, settled bazars and *hats* and established inspection bungalows; most of the existing roads in the tract follow the alignment made by him. While he was thus developing the estate the stream of Santal immigration continued. The Santals were treated for some years under the special Regulation (I of 1827) framed for the Paharias and, when its application to them was stopped, with great liberality as regards their holdings and assessments. In spite of this the Santals settled in the Dāmin-i-koh rose in rebellion in 1855, in order to free themselves from the oppression of their Hindustāni and Bengali money-lenders and of the local police, and partly also, there is reason to believe, in order to make good their claim that what they had reclaimed belonged to themselves alone. When the rebellion was quelled, the administration of the estate was continued on the same exclusive principles, and the old restrictions which closed the hillmen's country against members of other races were enforced for the Santals. Their assessment

at low rates and with favourable conditions was continued, and under this system the Dāmin-i-koh has remained ever since.

Under the management of Mr. Pontet rents were assessed by a rough computation of the cultivated area known as the *rekbandi* system, and the rental of the estate rose from Rs. 2,611 in 1836-37 to Rs. 58,033 in 1854-55, owing to the immigration of Santals. The first regular settlement of the estate was made in 1857-58, when the rental was fixed at Rs. 55,050; and in 1868 another settlement was made by Mr. Blumhardt for six years (subsequently extended for five years more), which increased the demand to Rs. 1,00,165. The basis of assessment in both these settlements was the number of ploughs in each village, and it was not till the settlement made by Mr. Browne Wood, in 1878-79, that the village boundaries were surveyed by chain and compass. A lump assessment was made for the whole village and distributed by *panchayats* among the ryots, the result being to increase the revenue of the estate to Rs. 1,67,191. The term of this settlement was 10 years; but on its expiry Government decided that resettlement should be deferred, as it might unsettle the Santals without producing any large increase of revenue. A resettlement and survey were finally sanctioned in 1899 and were carried to a conclusion by Mr. H. McPherson in 1905. Altogether 1,096 square miles came under survey and settlement, and one square mile in the town of Sāhibganj under survey only. The remaining 258 square miles consisted of 215 square miles of unsurveyed and unsettled Pahāria country and 43 square miles previously settled in the Pākaur Dāmin. Of the area under settlement 375,267 acres or 55 per cent. were found to be under cultivation, as compared with 27,629 acres at the settlement of 1879. Owing to this large extension of cultivation there was a considerable increase in the assessment, the rents settled by Mr. McPherson being Rs. 2,48,858 for the first five years and Rs. 2,67,929 from the sixth year upwards, representing annas 10-9 and annas 11-6 per acre respectively.

According to the census of 1901 the population of the Dāmin-i-koh is 358,294, of whom no less than 226,540 are Santals, who chiefly occupy the valleys and level portions of the estate. The next most numerous race consist of the Pahārias, of whom there are two branches, the Maler and the Māl Pahārias. The former are found in the northern half of the estate in Rāj-mahāl, the northern hills of Pākaur and in Goddā north of the Bokrābandh Bungalow. The latter occupy the Dumka portion of the Dāmin-i-koh, the Bokrābandh Bungalow of Goddā and South Pākaur. The Pahāria villages are usually

situated on the tops of the ridges, and round the homesteads are the village *bāri* lands extending to the brow of the hill. This area of homestead and cultivation is cut off from the lands, which the Santals occupy, by steep declivities, on portions of which the Pahārias usually practise *kurāo* cultivation.

The Dāmin-i-koh has always been regarded by Government as a reserve for the aboriginal races of the district ; and the intrusion of non-aborigines or foreigners, called *Dikkus*, has always been kept within the narrowest limits. It is, therefore, laid down that foreigners must not ordinarily be permitted to hold land within the boundaries of the Dāmin, and any one who may be improperly admitted is liable to be evicted, unless there is good cause to the contrary. In the course of Mr. McPherson's settlement it was found that the average *Dikku* holding was 4·47 acres in extent with an average rent of Rs. 5-4, while the average non-*Dikku* holding was 6·89 acres in extent with an average rent of Rs. 4-4-9. Headmen to the number of 1,991 had holdings averaging 18 acres with a rent of Rs. 11-11 ; and 1,009 headmen had, in addition, official holdings averaging 3·73 acres with a rent of Rs. 3-10.

Deoghar.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name situated 4 miles south-east of the Baidyanath station on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, with which it is connected by a light railway. To the north of the town is a wood called the Dāta Jungle, after a *fakir* whose descendants own the land ; on the north-west is a low hill called Nandaha Pahār ; a fine range of hills known as Tiur or Trikutparvata lies about 7 miles to the east ; to the south-east, south and south-west are more hills, all within 12 miles of the town. Immediately to the west there is a small rivulet named Yamunājor, and about half a mile further west is the river Dharuā, which, making a bend, runs about a mile to the south of the town. The space between Deoghar and this river belongs to the *ghātwāli* estate of Rohini, the village of Rohini being situated about three miles to the west of the river. The situation of the town is picturesque, as viewed from the train as it approaches the bridge over the Dharuā. In the foreground is the river, and beyond it lies the town surrounded by large trees covered with thick foliage, from the centre of which rise the pinnacles of the sacred temples of Baidyanāth. In the distance lies a cluster of hills forming a back-ground of blue-green. The country around Deoghar is also picturesque, being undulating and interspersed with numerous watercourses and small hills, some of which are covered with brush-wood, while others are destitute of

vegetation. The climate is dry and healthy, the soil is particularly light and porous; and there is comparatively little malarial fever, or other diseases prevalent in damp places.

The population of Deoghar, according to the census of 1901, is 8,838, but the permanent population of the town is very largely augmented by pilgrims at all times of the year, especially during the months of January, February and September. Two to fifty thousand pilgrims are said to come at different festivals, while the annual influx of pilgrims has been estimated at 200,000 to 300,000, of whom from 20,000 to 40,000 are said to come in January, 50,000 to 100,000 in February, 30,000 to 40,000 in September, and 100,000 to 120,000 during the other months of the year. This estimate is perhaps excessive, for it is reported that in 1908-09 the place was visited by only 28,000 pilgrims. For the accommodation of pilgrims there are 63 lodging-houses, but many of them do not resort to them but camp out under trees or in open spaces. The pilgrims, moreover do not, as a rule, stay at Deoghar for more than 10 or 12 hours. The town contains the usual offices and buildings common in a subdivisional headquarters, a good dispensary and a leper asylum (the Rāj Kumāri Lepper Asylum). It was constituted a municipality in 1869, and the area within municipal limits is $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The place has a reputation as a sanatorium among the Indian community, and the numerous houses springing up on its outskirts testify to its popularity among those who can afford to maintain country houses.

The real name of Deoghar rests upon the sanctity of its temples and its importance as a place of pilgrimage.* Its renown for sanctity is testified by the thousands of pilgrims who resort to it every year, and its antiquity is carried back in some of the Purānas to the Tretā Yuga, or second age of the world. According to the Siva Purāna, it was in the Treta Yuga that the demon Rāvāna, King of Lankā (Ceylon) feeling that his capital would not be perfect without the presence of Mahādeva, repaired to the Kailāsa mountain and besought the god to make it his permanent home. Mahādeva did not accede to this prayer, but told Rāvāna that one of the twelve emblems of this divinity (*Jyotirlinga*) would be quite as effective, and that he might take it away on the condition that the transfer should be effected without a break in the journey. Should the lingam be deposited anywhere on the earth in course of the journey it would remain fixed on that

* The subsequent account is derived almost entirely from *The Temples of Deoghar*, by Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra, J. A. S. B., Part 1., 1883.

spot for ever. Rāvana, thereupon, took the lingam and began his journey back to Lankā.

The gods dreaded the effect of the lingam being established in the kingdom of their most powerful enemy, for if Mahādeva were to be the protector of the demon's metropolis they would have no means left to overthrow him. They accordingly sat in solemn conclave, and devised a plan for outwitting their enemy. Varuna, the regent of the waters, entered the belly of Rāvana, with the result that the demon had to descend to earth to relieve himself. There Vishnu, in the garb of a decrepit old Brāhmaṇa, appeared before him and began to converse with him. Unconscious of the plot that had been laid, Rāvana begged the Brāhmaṇa to help him by holding the sacred emblem for a few minutes, a request which was readily acceded to. Rāvana then made over the lingam to him, and retired to ease himself. When he came back the Brāhmaṇa had disappeared, and the lingam was lying on the ground at a considerable distance from the place where he had descended to earth. Rāvana tried hard to remove the lingam from the spot where it had been placed, but without success. Growing desperate he used violence, but he only succeeded in breaking a piece off the top of the lingam. Realizing his folly he prostrated himself before the lingam and begged for pardon. Further, to atone for his sacrilegious violence, he came daily to the place and worshipped the divinity with libations of sacred water brought from the source of the Ganges in the Himālayas. This latter duty was afterwards rendered unnecessary by the excavation of a well, in which the waters of all the sacred pools on the face of the earth were stored. The spot where Rāvana came down to earth is identified with the present Harlājuri, about four miles north of Deoghar; the place where the lingam was deposited is now Deoghar, and the lingam itself is known as Baidyanāth.

According to the Padma Purāna the Brāhmaṇa to whom Rāvana entrusted the lingam deposited it in due form, consecrated it with water from a neighbouring tank, repeated his prayers and then departed. A Bhil who was present when this was done received instructions from the Brahman as to how the worship of the emblem should be conducted, but having no vessel at hand, brought the water required for libations in his mouth. When Rāvana at last returned, the Bhil related all that had happened, and pointed out that the Brāhmaṇa was no other than Vishnu himself. Rāvana then excavated a well with an arrow and brought into it the waters of all sacred pools on earth for the fitting worship of the god. According to other traditions, not noticed in any Purāna, the lingam lay neglected after the death

of Rāvana until it was noticed by a rude hunter, Baiju by name, who accepted it as his god and worshipped it daily, proclaiming it to the world as the lord of Baiju (Baidyanāth). Before this occurrence the lingam was known by its original name of Jyotirlinga (the lingam of light) or by the name it derived from its transfer, viz., Rāvaneswar.

Sir William Hunter in the *Annals of Rural Bengal* relates the Santal tradition of Baidyanāth as follows :—" In the olden time a band of Brāhmans settled on the banks of the beautiful highland lake beside which the holy city stands. Around them there was nothing but the forest and mountains, in which dwelt the black races. The Brāhmans placed the symbol of their god Siva near the lake and did sacrifice to it ; but the black tribes would not sacrifice to it, but came as before to the three great stones which their fathers had worshipped, and which are to be seen at the western entrance of the holy city to this day. The Brāhmans, moreover, ploughed the land, and brought water from the lake to nourish the soil ; but the hillmen hunted and fished as of old, or tended their herds, while the women tilled little patches of Indian corn. But in process of time the Brāhmans, finding the land good, became slothful, giving themselves up to lust and seldom calling on their god Siva. This the black tribes, who came to worship the great stones, saw and wondered at more and more, till at last one of them, by name Baiju, a man of a mighty arm and rich in all sorts of cattle, became wroth at the lies and wantonness of the Brāhmans, and vowed he would beat the symbol of their god Siva with his club every day before touching food. This he did : but one morning his cattle strayed into the forest, and after seeking them all day he came home hungry and weary, and, having hastily bathed in the lake, sat down to his supper. Just as he stretched out his hand to take the food he called to mind his vow ; and worn out as he was, he got up, limped painfully to the Brāhmans' idol on the margin of the lake, and beat it with his club. Then suddenly a splendid form, sparkling with jewels, rose from the waters, and said :— ' Behold the man who forgets his hunger and his weariness to beat me, while my priests sleep with their concubines at home, and neither give me to eat nor to drink. Let him ask of me what he will, and it shall be given.' Baiju answered : ' I am strong of arm and rich of cattle. I am a leader of my people : what want I more ? Thou art called Nāth (Lord). Let me too be called lord, and let thy temple go by my name ! ' ' Amen ', replied the deity ; ' henceforth thou art not Baiju, but Baijnāth, and my temple shall be called by thy name.' " Romantically as this story has been narrated by the writer, it

is valueless for any historical inference. It cannot be more than 300 years old, and it is probably of a much more recent date. The tomb to the north of the road, in which the mortal remains of Baiju are said to be deposited, is not more than 200 years old; and the name itself is applied in the Purānas to the lingam of Siva in distant parts of India.

Some of the Purānas ascribe the advent of Baidyanāth at Deoghar to the Satya Yuga, or the first age of the world, when Sati, the wife of Siva and the daughter of Daksha, committed suicide in consequence of the discourtesy shown to her husband by Daksha. Overpowered by grief Siva, in a fit of frenzy, stuck the corpse of his wife on the point of his trident and roamed about like a madman, till Vishnu cut up the body with his discus into 52 parts, which fell at different places in India. The heart, it is said, fell at Deoghar (Baidyanāth), and hence that place attained its sanctity. There is, however, no shrine or spot at Deoghar to commemorate this occurrence as at the other 51 places. Another legend is that in the first age of the world Siva manifested himself as lingams of light at 12 different places under different names, Baidyanāth being one of these 12 places. The emblem was worshipped by Sati, who appeared in the form of a pandanus flower on the top of the lingam and dwelt for a long time in a grove close by in order to worship it. Hence the place was called Ketakivana or the pandanus grove.

The temple of Baidyanāth, which shelters the lingam and is dedicated to Mahādeva, stands in a stone-paved quadrangular courtyard. The east side faces the public road, and at the southern end is a large arched gateway surmounted by a *naubat-khāna*. The *naubat-khāna* is, however, not much used, a separate two-storied building having been provided close by for musicians. Near the north-east corner of the courtyard there is a large gateway, over which a room has been constructed by Rājā Padmānand Singh of Banaili. This is the principal entrance to the temple enclosure. At the north end of the courtyard is the private residence of the *Sardār Pāṇḍa* or head priest, known as the *bhitarkhanda*. The temple, which faces the east, is a plain stone structure surmounted by a pyramidal tower which rises from a square base to a height of 72 feet from the ground. On the east side of the northern verandah of the temple is a masonry vat, into which flow the water and milk used for the ablutions of the lingam. This water is regarded as very sacred, and every pilgrim is expected to taste a few drops of it and to carry some of it away in a phial. The lingam is of a cylindrical form, about 5 inches in diameter, and projects about 4 inches from the centre of a

large slab of basalt. As it is fixed firmly in this slab it is not possible to ascertain how much of the lingam is buried. The top is broken and has an even surface, one side being a little higher than the other. The fracture is attributed by the Hindu legend to the assault of Rāvana and by the Santal legend to that of the forester Baiju. The cell which shelters the divine emblem is very dark, and upon entering it, after passing through the courtyard of the temple in the glare of the midday sun, the pilgrim can at first see nothing ; two *ghi*-fed lamps are all that are provided to enable pilgrims to behold the manifestation of the god.

The lobby in front of the cell is, like the cell itself, paved with flags of basalt, but it contains nothing in the way of furniture or fixtures. The second porch has in front a row of pillars spanned by blocks of basalt, and on the right side there is a sandstone image of a bull, which is by some dignified with the name of Srijuta or "His Excellency." Near it there are some small bovine images, and bells hang down from the ceiling. Pilgrims entering by the front door are supposed to pull the bell-rope to announce their approach to the divinity, but in most cases the priests do this for them. The courtyard contains 11 other temples, smaller in size and of less importance than that of Baidyanāth. The following is a list of all the 12 temples and of their dedicators, with the years in which they were dedicated, as ascertained by Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra :—

Name.	Dedicator.	Date.
1. Baidyanāth	Pūran Mal.	1596
2. Lakshmi-Nārayān	Vāmadeva.	<i>circa</i> 1630-40
3. Sāvitri (Tārā)	Kshemakarna	1692
4. Pārvatī	Ratnapāni.	<i>circa</i> 1701-10
5. Kāli	Jayanārāyana.	1712
6. Ganesa	Tikārāma.	1762
7. Sūrya	Rāma Datta.	<i>circa</i> 1782-93
8. Saraswati	do.	do.
9. Rāmachandra	do.	do.
10. Vagulā Devī	do.	do.
11. Annapūrnā	do.	1782
12. Ananda Bhairava	Commenced by Ananda Datta, completed by Sarvānanda.	<i>circa</i> 1810-23

The name of the temple last mentioned means the temple of Bhairava set up by Ananda, an ancestor of the present *Sardār*

pāndā. Besides the temples mentioned by Dr. Mitra, there is a shrine of Dudhnāth Mahādeva, which is presumably a later erection. It contained a silver *pāñchmukhi* lingam, the gift of Sailajānada Ojhā, but the original lingam is said to have been stolen. The shrine of Manasā Devī, the snake goddess, in the south western corner of the courtyard also appears to have been built since Dr. Mitra published his account of Deoghar. All the temples are comparatively modern and of little archaeological interest, the only ancient remains being three Buddhist statues. One, a small Lokanātha, is worshipped as Kārtikeya and another as Sūrya; while a Buddha serves as an image of Kāla Bhairava. Ancient, however, as these statues are, it would be obviously unwise to conclude that the place originally belonged to the Buddhists, as the images may have been brought here from some other place.

All the persons mentioned in the preceding list were high priests of the Baidyanāth temple with the exception of Pūran Mal, who was an ancestor of the Mahārājā of Gidhaur and one of the leading zamindārs of Bihār during the reign of Akbar. An inscription on the Baidyanāth temple states that he built it at the request of Raghunāth, and tradition relates that the inscription was forcibly put up by Pūran Mal, after he had had the temple repaired, to mark his ownership of the surrounding land, which he had taken from its proprietors. The priest Raghunāth Ojhā was displeased with the inscription, but was unable to resist Pūran Mal. He therefore bided his time, and, when the chief was gone, had the porch erected and therein set up his own inscription. Legend states that the priest fasted for some days at the gate of Baidyanāth, who revealed to him in a dream that he should build a new porch and set up an inscription; but he claims the credit of having erected the temple.

Dr. Rājendra Lālā Mitra is of opinion that there must have been a temple here at a very early date. "A place of great sanctity, highly eulogised in the Purāṇas, and strongly recommended as a place of pilgrimage, could not have remained in the form of a stump of four inches on the bare earth in an open field for centuries without a covering during the Hindu period after the downfall of Buddhism; some pilgrim or other would have soon provided it with a temple." He also disbelieves that the present temple replaced an old one. "That might at first sight appear probable; but the belief of the Hindus is that it is a sacrilege to pull down a Siva temple and rebuild it, and the denunciations in the Smritis are dire against such sacrilege. Rebuilding of temples is permitted in all cases where movable images are

concerned ; but in the case of lingams which are fixed to the earth the pulling down of the temple is equal to the desecration of the lingam itself, which from that moment ceases to be adorable, and must at once be cast into a river. I cannot therefore, believe that Pūran Mal knocked down an old temple, and erected a new one in its place. No Hindu remaining Hindu, and claiming religious merit by the act, could have done such a thing. It is obvious to me, therefore, that the tradition which holds the temple to be old, and ascribes to Pūran Mal only the lobby, is correct, and that having defrayed the cost of the lobby which became a part, and an integral part of the temple, he claimed credit for the whole. The inscription, moreover, is placed within the lobby, and its purview need not extend beyond the boundary of that apartment. The same may be said of the inscription of Raghunātha. That worthy defrayed the cost of the porch, which put to shade the work of an oppressive superior and conqueror, and by a figure of speech took to himself the credit of building the whole of the temple and a great many other things which probably never existed. The rivalry of the priest and the potentate can be explained by accepting the truth of this tradition."

One other inscription calls for notice. This is an inscription over the entrance of the temple of Baidyanāth, written in Bengali characters and purporting to be an extract of a Sanskrit work on the Mandara Hill in the Bhāgalpur district. It says that Adityasena with his queen, Koshadevī, who had come from the Chola country near Madura in Southern India, built a temple of Vishnu, and that one Balabhadra put up an image of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu. An inscription on the Mandara Hill shows that Konadevī was the actual name of Adityasena's queen, and she had a tank excavated there, which is still in existence ; while the lines referring to the boar statue are engraved in characters of the seventh century A.D., which is also the date of Adityasena according to the hill inscription. The temple inscription therefore contains some historical facts, but, remarks Dr. Bloch, "the statement that Adityasena came from the Chola country can hardly be credited, as the names of his family, all ending in Gupta, connect him with the Imperial Gupta family. It has no connection with Baidyanāth, and it is not clear for what reason it was put up here."*

In front of the main entrance of the courtyard is a sacred well, called Chandrakūpa, which is held to be the repository of

* Report, Arch. Surv., Bengal Circle, for 1902-1903.

the holy water of all the sacred pools on earth and is said to have been excavated by Rāvana to save himself the trouble of bringing water for worship from the Himālayas. To the south-west of the temple courtyard, on the south side of the main road, is a more interesting monument—a masonry platform, about 6 feet in height and 20 feet square, supporting three huge monoliths of contorted gneiss rock. Two are vertical, and the third is laid upon the heads of two uprights like a horizontal beam. The uprights are 12 feet high and quadrilateral in form, each face being 1½ foot broad; while the cross piece is 13 feet long, and 1¾ foot broad on each side. There is a faint attempt at sculpture at each end of the vertical faces of the horizontal beam, representing crocodiles' heads. These stones, according to Sir William Hunter, were formerly worshipped by the Santāls, but Dr. Rajendra Lāla Mitra has pointed out that they are a frame for swinging the image of Krishna during the Dol Jātrā (Holi) festival. "This gallows-like structure," he writes, "is not peculiar to this place, nor has it any connection with the Santāls, who do not now worship it, nor is there any reason to suppose that they ever did so. There is nothing to show that the Santāls were in the habit of worshipping a stone scaffold like the one under notice, and certain it is that in no part of Santālia, and indeed in no part of India inhabited by the black races, is there a stone gallows to be seen, which would justify the assumption that such a structure was ever an object of worship. Had any religious sanctity been attached to it, it would have been seen much more abundantly than what appears to be the case. The terrace in front of the temple, however, settles the question as to the use of the gallows. In every part of India where the Krishna cultus has found access, such gallows are invariably seen in close proximity to ancient temples. Of course, where stone is scarce, wood is generally used to make the scaffolding, but where stone is available it is always preferred. A remarkably handsome structure of this kind is regularly used at Bhubaneswar for the purpose of setting up a swing during the swing festivals. At Puri there is a similar structure to the north of the great temple, and used for the same purpose. Innumerable other instances may be easily cited, but they are, I think, not wanted."

The road leading from the northern gate of the great temple passes along the western edge of a large tank or lake called Sivagangā, which measures about 900 feet by 600 feet. It forms part of a natural depression, the western portion of which has been cut off by an embankment, on the top of which runs a road. According to Dr. Rajendra Lāla Mitra: "This

embankment must have been put up by Mahārājā Mān Singh, the great general of Akbar, who came to this place on his way to Orissa, as I find his name is associated with the western portion, which is called Mānasarovara." This portion has silted up greatly, and, except during the rains, remains dry. It is connected with the lake by a small rivulet, named Karmanāsā, which is said to be the spot where Rāvana eased himself: on account of this connection, the water of the lake is held to be impure.

The ritual of worship is simple enough, the *mantras* being few, and the offerings limited. Pouring water on the lingam, smearing it with sandal paste, and offering flowers and a few grains of rice constitute the worship. This is followed by the offering of money in silver or gold, no copper being allowed to be brought into contact with the divinity. Rich people offer horses, cattle, *palkis*, gold ornaments and other valuables, and, sometimes, rent-free land in support of the daily worship. The title-deed in such cases is ordinarily a *bel* leaf, on which the donation is written and which is swept out in the evening. This simple deed, however, is faithfully respected. It is said that the god delights in water, *bel* leaves, sandal and flowers, and they are all that are necessary for his worship. He is, however, very particular about the quality of the leaves and the water. The former has to be brought from the Trikuta (Tiur) hill. For ordinary use the water of the sacred well excavated by Rāvana is held sufficient; but water from the sources of the Ganges on the Himalayas near Badrināth, or from the Mānasarovara lake in Tibet, is highly prized. Pilgrims, mostly hermits, bring it from those distant places, as well as from the Ganges near the Jahāngirā rock; while the priests keep a supply of sacred water in phials to help such pilgrims as come without a supply. A few drops of this water are sprinkled on the flowers which the worshipper offers to the divinity.

The verandahs on the north, west and south of the temple are reserved for pilgrims who desire special blessings. Ordinarily men ask for the cure of diseases, and women for offspring or for the restoration of health to sick children. The ordinary pilgrim's round is as follows. The pilgrim bathes in the Sivagangā tank in the morning, worships the lingam, and then lies down on the bare pavement of the verandah till next morning. He or she then rises, performs his or her worship, drinks a mouthful of water from the vat on the north side, and then lies down again. These practices are continued for three days and three nights. During this period the pleasure of the divinity is generally

communicated in a dream to the pilgrim in such words as "Go away, you are cured," or "Go and do such and such things, and you will be cured," or "Your wish will be fulfilled within such and such a time." Should no dream come, it is understood that the person is so sinful as to be unworthy of the god's mercy. Formerly the pilgrim's fast sometimes continued for seven to nine days, and dreams came on after such protracted fasting: but some deaths having taken place from starvation the priests do not now permit a fast to last more than three days.

Deoghar, "the home of the gods," is a modern name. In Sanskrit works we find in its place Hardapitha, Rāvana-vana, Ketaki-vana, Haritaki-vana and Vaidyanātha. In Bengal the place is generally known as Baidyanāth, but that name having been given to the adjoining station of the East Indian Railway and to the town that has grown up round it, the people, for the sake of distinction, have adopted the name of Deoghar. The sanctity of Baidyanāth is mentioned in several authentic works on pilgrimages dating from the 12th to the 14th centuries A.D. Authentic portions of the Purāṇas also refer to it, and as they are unquestionably anterior to the tenth century, Baidyanāth must even in their time have attained considerable celebrity. Coming to more modern times there is an interesting account of the pilgrimage to Baidyanāth in the *Khulāsatut-tawārīkh** written between 1695 and 1699 A.D. It runs: "In the district of Monghyr on the skirts of the hill, there is a place named the Jharkhand of Baijnath (Baidyanāth) sacred to Mahādeva. Here a miraculous manifestation puzzles those who behold only the outside of things. That is to say, in this temple there is a pipal tree, of which nobody knows the origin. If any one of the attendants of the temple is in need of the money necessary for his expenses, he abstains from food and drink, sits under the tree, and offers prayers to Mahādeva for the fulfilment of his desire. After two or three days the tree puts forth a leaf covered with lines in the Hindī character, written by an invisible pen, and containing an order on a certain inhabitant of any of the parts of the world for the payment of a certain sum to the person who had prayed for it. Although his residence may be 500 leagues from Baidyanāth, the names of that man and his children, wife, father and grandfather, his quarter, country, home and other correct details about him are known from the writing on the leaf. The high priest, writing agreeably to it on a separate piece of paper, gives [it to that attendant of the

temple]. This is called the *hundi* (cheque) of Baijnāth. The suppliant, having taken this cheque, goes to the place named on it, according to the directions contained in it. The man upon whom the cheque has been drawn pays the money without attempting evasion or guile. A Brahman once brought a *hundi* of Baijnāth to the very writer of this book, and he, knowing it to be a bringer of good fortune, paid the money and satisfied the Brahman. More wonderful than this is a cave at this holy place. The high priest enters into the cave once a year, on the day of the Siva-brata, and having brought some earth out of it, gives a little to each of the ministers of the temple. Through the power of the Truly Powerful, this earth becomes turned into gold, in proportion to the degree of merit of each man."

Under the Muhammadan Government the chief priest appears to have paid a fixed rent to the Rājās of Birbhūm, and the administration of the temple seems to have been left entirely in the hands of the priests. When the British rule began, it was decided to take over the management of the temple, and with this object an establishment of priests, collectors and watchmen was organized in 1787 at Government expense. The revenue soon fell off, as the chief priest beset the avenues to the temples with emissaries, who induced the pilgrims to make their offerings before approaching the shrine. The result was that, though there were 50,000 pilgrims in 1789, the receipts only amounted to Rs. 4,084. Next year the Collector of Birbhūm, Mr. Keating, appointed an establishment of 120 armed policemen with 15 officers in order to improve the collections, with the result that they increased to Rs. 8,463. He himself visited Deoghar in 1791 in order to superintend the collections personally and stop the peculations of the police. His report gives an interesting account of the difficulties under which the pilgrims laboured at that time. "Of wealth among any of them there was no appearance. No more than five families had any conveyance or hired house to reside in. About a hundred had simply a blanket drawn over a bamboo as a protection from the weather; and the rest—varying from fifteen to fifty thousand, according to the season—took up their abode under the adjacent trees, with no kind of convenience whatever. There was too general an appearance of poverty to suppose that the temple could profit much from the oblations of its devotees, and little could be expected from wretches who seemed in want of every necessary of life."*

In 1791 Government relinquished its claim to a share of the offerings, and entrusted the management of the shrine to the

* *Annals of Rural Bengal*, page 281.

Ojhā, or head priest, on his executing an agreement to keep the temples in repair and to perform all the usual ceremonies. He was also bound on pain of dismissal to keep order and not exact offerings from the pilgrims. The post of *Ojhā* was held to be hereditary, but the appointment was made by Government and the priest was to be over 40 years of age. According to Mr. Keating, the income of the temple in 1791 consisted of the offerings and of the proceeds of 32 villages and 108 *bighás* of land, which he estimated at Rs. 2,000 a year; some years later we find the total income estimated at Rs. 25,000 a year. Under this system the mismanagement of the temple was a source of constant complaint. The temple and *ghāts* were frequently out of repair, and the *Ojhā* was charged with alienating villages from the temple and treating "his situation as a means of enriching himself and his family." On his death in 1820, a dispute over the succession arose between an uncle and his nephew, and the Collector, in his position as Local Agent, had to go to Deoghar to hold an enquiry. The nephew Nityānand was eventually appointed, but neglected to carry out the terms of his appointment, for it was soon reported that the "whole place and environs were a scene of dirt and stench," and only a quarter of the income (estimated at Rs. 1,50,000 annually) was spent on the temple. Finally, Nityānand was charged with malversation of the funds, and the uncle, Sarbānand, was in 1823 appointed *Ojhā* in his stead, a yearly provision being made for his nephew. On the death of this priest in 1837 the property was attached till a successor could be appointed by Government after taking the opinion of Brāhmans.* Since then disputes between the high priest and the *pāndas* regarding the control of the temple have been frequent, and in the course of recent litigation, which had its origin in these strained relations, a high priest was dismissed from his office.

About 300 families of *pāndas*, who belong to a branch of Maithil Brāhmans, are attached to the temple, and earn a livelihood by assisting pilgrims in performing the various ceremonies connected with the worship of the god. They have their own chief, who is designated the *Sardār Pāndā* or high priest, and of recent years this office has vested in members of one family. In accordance with a recent decree of the courts, the administration of the temple is now vested in a council of trustees, which includes the high priest and other *pāndas* as well as laymen.

Sir W. W. Hunter, *Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 278-85. E. G. Drake-Brockman, *Notes on the Early Administration of Birbhum* (1898), pp. 82-83.

Deoghar Subdivision. A subdivision in the south-west of the district lying between $24^{\circ} 3'$ and $24^{\circ} 38'$ N. and between $86^{\circ} 28'$ and $87^{\circ} 4'$ E., with an area of 952 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts; on the south by the Jāmtarā subdivision; on the west by the Monghyr and Hazāribāgh districts; and on the east by the Dumkā and Godda subdivisions of this district. The subdivision contains several clusters of rocky hills covered with jungle, but its general aspect is that of a rolling series of long ridges with intervening depressions. Most of these rolling uplands have been denuded of the forest with which they were once covered, and are cultivated with highland crops, while the depressions, which are exceedingly fertile, yield winter rice. The population of the subdivision was 297,403 in 1901 as against 284,115 in 1891, its density being 312 persons to the square mile. It contains 2,368 villages and two towns, viz., Deoghar, its headquarters, and Madhupur.

Dumkā (or Nayā Dumkā).—Headquarters of the district, situated in $24^{\circ} 16'$ N., and $87^{\circ} 15'$ E. Dumkā is one of the oldest British stations in Bengal, being shown on the map of 1769 as "Duncaw," a fact which lends colour to the idea that the original name was Dumkoh, *koh* being a common termination to names of villages in the Santal Parganas. It was then a *ghātwāli* police post in the Birbhūm jurisdiction, but in 1795 was transferred to Bhagalpur and made the site of one of the four Kohisthani police thanas for the regulation of the Rajmahal Hills. The name frequently occurs in the old correspondence as Dumkah or Doomka till 1855, when the station was first called Nayā Dumkā, in contradistinction to the old village of Dumka (Purāna Dumka), by the officer commanding a detachment of troops stationed here during the Santal rebellion. It is only occasionally called Nayā Dumkā, except in official reports. In 1855 Dumkā was made the headquarters of the Santal Parganas district, but soon afterwards the headquarters were removed and it was left as the headquarters of the Dumkā sub-district only. In 1872 the sub-districts of the Sauthal Parganas were constituted sub-divisions, and Dumkā again became the headquarters of the whole district.

Situated on rising ground, which slopes down to the river Mor, and with a far-flung girdle of hills in the background, Dumkā is one of the most picturesque stations in Bengal. It contains a pretty creeper-clad English church, close to which is a small lake called Phutta Bāndh. On a mound in the lake, which is connected with the tank by a small bridge, is a stone pillar erected in honour of Dr. Kelly, formerly Civil Surgeon, who had

the lake excavated. The town, which forms part of the property of Mr. Maling Grant, had a population of 5,326 persons in 1901 and was constituted a municipality in 1903. It is somewhat difficult of access, being 38½ miles from the Rāmpur Hāt station on the Loop Line, and 41½ miles from Deoghar ; travellers usually do the journey from Rāmpur Hāt in *thukā yāris*, for which previous arrangement has to be made, as they have to be brought in from Dumkā.

Dumkā Subdivision—Central subdivision of the district lying between 23° 59' and 24° 39' N. and between 86° 54' and 87° 42' E., with an area of 1,429 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Goddā and Pakaur subdivisions of this district and by the Bankā subdivision of the Bhāgalpur district ; on the south by the Jamtāra subdivision and the district of Birbhūm ; on the east by the Rāmpur Hāt subdivision of the latter district and the Pakaur subdivision of this district ; and on the west by the Deoghar and Jamtāra subdivisions. The subdivision consists for the greater part of rolling open country with long ridges and intervening depressions, but a large area is occupied by hills and forests in the north, where part of the subdivision is included in the Dāmin-i-koh. There are two principal ranges, running south from the Pakaur and Godda subdivisions, which enter this subdivision close to the Silingi bungalow in the extreme north of the Dumka Damin. They run parallel to each other and, passing through the Damin, terminate in the Nangalbhāṅga hill, over which the Rāmpur Hāt road is carried. To the south-east is another extensive range known as the Ramgarh Hills, situated in *tāluks* Darin Mauleswar and Sulunga. The scenery in these hills, and especially near the Nargauj, Silingi and Karcho bungalows, is very picturesque, hill after hill stretching away in the distance covered with dense jungle, while far down in the valleys are seen terraced rice fields green with paddy. The population of the subdivision in 1901 was 416,681, representing a density of 292 persons to the square mile. The population is contained in 2,105 villages, the headquarters station being Dumkā.]

Goddā.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name, situated 49 miles north of Dumkā. The town has a population of 2,208 persons and contains the public offices usually found at subdivisional headquarters, but otherwise is of no special interest. It is somewhat difficult of access, the nearest railway station being Ghoghā on the Loop Line, 31 miles to the north.

Goddā Subdivision.—North-western subdivision of the district, lying between 24° 30' and 25° 14' N. and between 87° 3' and 87° 36' E., with an area of 967 square miles. It is bounded

on the north by the Bhāgalpur district and a small portion of the Rājmahāl subdivision; on the east by the Dāmin-i-koh portion of the Rājmahāl and Pakaur subdivisions; on the south by *pargana* Handwe in the Dumkā subdivision; and on the west by the Bhāgalpur district. Its length from north to south is over 50 miles, and its breadth varies from 12 to 24 miles. The east of the subdivision, along the skirts of the Rājmahāl Hills, is included in the Dāmin-i-koh and consists of hilly country, with forests in the southern half. The western portion of the subdivision, comprising the zamīndāri tract, is different in character. *Tappa* Manihāri to the north is a fertile alluvial plain very similar to the adjacent level country in the Bhāgalpur district. Next to it comes *tappa* Pātsundā, an upland tract sloping downwards towards the west. Towards the south in *parganas* Passai, Goddā and Barkop the country is undulating.

The rivers of the subdivision, which rise for the most part in the uplands to the east, receive the drainage of the western slope of the hills, and flow generally in a westerly direction into the Girua, which flows northwards to the Ganges close to the western boundary of the subdivision. In the Manihāri plain there are two streams, the Koa and Bhorai, which have scoured out deep chaunels in the alluvial soil. *Tappa* Pātsundā is separated from *pargana* Barkop on the south by the Sundar river, which rises in the hills of Telo Bungalow. South of the Sundar there are three streams, the Sapin, Bheriya and Harna, the two latter flowing through *pargana* Goddā. The largest stream of the subdivision is the Kājrā, which rises in the highlands of Belbathān and Passai, and is fed by five separate streams. It flows past the town of Goddā, where it has a considerable width. The Lilji flows through *parganas* Amlamatia and Goddā, and joins the Chir river above Panjwāra. The latter stream is also joined by the Poreya and Sugathan, which flow westward through *pargana* Passai.

The chief hills of the subdivision are in the Dāmin-i-koh and belong to the Rājmahāl range, of which there are a few outliers. In the west of Passai there is a small range which continues westward into the Bhāgalpur district; in Barkop there is a cluster of small hills of black rock, and an isolated hill at Bisaha; while other detached hills of black rock are found in Pātsundā and Manihāri.

The subdivision contains 1,274 villages, and its population in 1901 was 390,223, the density being 404 persons to the square mile. To the east, in the Dāmin-i-koh, the country is sparsely inhabited, but the Mahāgāma and Goddā thānas to the east form one of the most fertile and densely populated tracts in the district.

Handwe.—A *pargana* in the north of the Dumkā subdivision. The *pargana* appears to have been originally a *ghātwālī* subordinate to the Kharagpur Rāj in Monghyr and was held by a Khetauri family, the head of which, Subhān Singh, was in 1792 recognized by Captain Browne as *istimrāri mukarūlādār* of the estate under Kharagpur, the rent fixed being Rs. 2,171. In Buchanan Hamilton's time the greater portion of it was held by Subhān Singh's descendant, one Jhabban Singh. Of the 22 *tāluks* included in the *pargana*, 13 belong to the descendants of Jhabban Singh and are known as the Handwe Rāj; 2 small *tāluks*, Beldaha and Eksingha, are held by *mukarūlādārs*; 1 *tāluks*, viz., Jhopa, Karma, Saharamahra and Kamardiha, are in the *khāls* possession of the Banaili Rāj, which has taken the place of the Kharagpur Rāj; two, viz., Kherwa and Belgāma, are held by the descendants of the original *ghātwāls*; while the last, Kesri, till recently belonged to a Khetauri, but was purchased in 1902 at an auction sale by his creditors. The Handwe Raj is now held by Rāni Keshabatī Kumārī, who has adopted Kunār Sut Nārāyan Singh as her heir and has a life interest in the estate. Its headquarters are at Nuni Hāt, four miles from which, under the Lagwa hill, is the ancestral home of the Khetauri proprietors. The income of the estate is about Rs. 1,25,000, but it is heavily indebted and has therefore been taken under the management of the Court of Wards.

Jāmtārā.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name situated on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway. It is merely a village, with a population of 278 persons, containing the public offices usually found at a subdivisional headquarters.

Jāmtārā Subdivision.—Southern subdivision of the district, lying between $23^{\circ} 48'$ and $24^{\circ} 10'$ N. and between $86^{\circ} 30'$ and $87^{\circ} 18'$ E., with an area of 698 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Dumkā and Deoghar subdivisions of this district; on the east by the district of Birbhūm and the Dumkā subdivision; on the south by the districts of Māubhūm, Burdwān and Birbhūm; and on the west by the district of Hazāribāgh. The subdivision, which is bounded on the south by the Barākar and is intersected by the Ajay river, is a rolling upland country with long ridges and intervening depressions. It is traversed by the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway and contains three stations at Mihijām, Jāmtārā and Karmatārā. The population of the subdivision was 189,799 in 1901, as compared with 173,726 in 1891, the density being 272 persons to the square mile. It contains 1,073 villages, and is divided into the following *tāluks*—Afzalpur, Amba, Amjorā, Amlājori, Asnā, Bābupur, Bāgdahuri, Bhāngāhir,

Bharchandi, Chaukhanda, Dhādīka, Dhasunia, Geria, Ghāti, Jālāin, Jāmjuri, Jamkanali, Kajra, Kātnā, Kenduekāstā, Khājuri, Kundahit, Māndhāra, Maro, Nāgrī, Nalā, Nārāyanpur, Pabbīā, Pākuriā, Pālajuri, Pindāri Satki, Siharketiā, Sundarpur and Taro.

Jungleterry.—A district which was in existence from 1772 to 1780. It included almost the whole of the present Santal Parganas and also a large tract to the west and north-west, which now forms part of the Hazāribagh, Monghyr and Bhāgalpur districts, viz., Kharakdihā in Hazaribāgh, South Gidhaur in Monghyr and South Kharagpur in Bhāgalpur. The only portions of the Santal Parganas as now constituted which did not form part of the Jungleterry are the Jāmtārā subdivision and the alluvial portion of the Rājmahāl subdivision between the Ganges and the Rājmahāl Hills. The name is a corruption of *Jangal Tarai*.

Kānkjol.—A *pargana* in the south of the Rājmahāl subdivision. It is mentioned in Todar Mal's rent-roll as a *mahal* in *Sarkār* Audamber or Tandah, and there is also a *pargana* of the same name north of the Ganges in the Purnea district. General Cunningham is of opinion that the name is derived from Kānkjol, a village 16 miles south of Rājmahāl. "Kānkjol is an old town, which was once the headquarters of an extensive province, including the whole of the present district of Rājmahāl, and a large tract of country which is now on the east of the Ganges, but which in former days was on its west bank. Even at the present day this tract is still recorded as belonging to Kankjol; and I was, therefore, not surprised to hear the zamindārs of Ināyatpur and the surrounding villages to the east of the Ganges say that their lands were in Kānkjol. The simple explanation is that the Ganges has changed its course. At the time of the Muhammadan occupation it flowed under the walls of Gaur in the channel of the present Bhāgirathi river. Part of the trans-Gangetic Kānkjol is in the Puraniā district bounded by Akbarpur, and part in the Mālāda district bounded by Mālāda proper."*

Kuarpal.—A *tappa* situated partly in the Goddā and partly in the Pākaur subdivision. It stretches across the Dāmin-i koh and is the largest hill division in the estate. The name, which is also spelt Kumārpal or Kunwarpal, means the hills of the Kumārs or princes, and is the northernmost tract inhabited by the Māl Pahārias.

Madhupur.—A town in the Deoghar subdivision, situated on the Chord Line of the East Indian Railway, 183 miles from Howrah. Population (1901) 6,840. The town is 820 feet above

sea-level and has a growing reputation as a health resort among the Bengali community. A number of new houses have consequently been built in recent years by residents of Calcutta and other places. It is a growing town with a considerable number of European railway employés and an increasing population of Bengali gentlemen who have country residences here. It has recently been constituted a municipality; and there is a junction here for a branch line to Giridih.

Mahuāgarhi.—A hill in the south of the Rājmahāl Hills with a height of about 1,500 feet. On the summit is a Pahāria village called Pokharia after a ruined stone tank, which is still pointed out. It also contains the remains of a stone fort attributed to one Kushial Singh, a Rājput Rajā, who placed himself at the head of the Pahārius and was slain in a battle against the Rājās of Handwe at a spot beneath the hill, the name of which, Rājāmārā, commemorates his death.

Manihāri Tappa—A *tappa* in the north of the Goddā subdivision. It was formerly held by a family of Khetauris, of whom Buchanan Hamilton has given the following account. A Nat Rāja called Dariyar Singh was chief of the northern hillmen and lived in the Manjhwe valley, where he built and occupied a fort called Lakragurh. A Khetauri called Kalyān entered his service, and Kalyān's son Rupkaran became commandant of the fort. In 1600 A. D. Mān Singh was sent by Akbar to settle the affairs of Bengal, and was opposed by a chief called Subhān Singh. The Nat Rāja favoured Subhān, but Rupkaran, deserting his master, expelled him from the fort and helped Mān Singh to force the defiles. "He then advanced with Mān Singh to Bengal, and his family entirely attribute to his prowess the overthrow of Subhān. It would appear, indeed, that he rendered essential service, as his rewards were considerable. In the first place he obtained in *mansab jagir*, free of rent and in perpetuity, five *parganas*, viz., Dursaraf in Puraniyā (Purnea), Yamuli (Jamuni) and Akbarnagar in Rājmahāl, and Manjhuya (Manjhwe) and Kangiyula (Kanjiāla) comprising the valley included by the hills of the mountaineers. Besides this he procured, as a *zamindari tappa*, Manihāri, a part of the Bhāgalpur *pargana*. Mān Singh conferred the title of Rāja on his favourite, who enjoyed these estates until the Fasli year 1015 (A. D. 1608)." When Buchanan Hamilton wrote his account, a descendant of Rupkaran named Rāja Gajrāj Singh, son of Sujan Singh, held the estate.

A local tradition communicated by the Deputy Commissioner agrees more or less with this account. It runs as follows:—The

tappa was formerly held by seven Nat brothers, who lived at seven different places, but Majmai (in the Dāmin-i-koh near Burio Hāt) was their capital, at which they met during the Durgā Pūjā festivals. They were overthrown by a Khetauri named Rupkaran Singh, the son of Kalyān Singh, who was marked for future greatness by a miraculous occurrence, for one day, while he was reposing under the shade of a tree, he fell asleep, and a serpent sheltered him from the sun by spreading its hood over him like an umbrella. Rupkaran entered into a conspiracy to kill the Nat Rājās, to whom the Khetauris used to supply fuel at the time of the Pūjas. During one of these festivals, when the Nat brothers were intoxicated, he and his fellows rose up against them, and having killed them established the Khetauri Rāj. Rupkaran Singh reigned from 1008 to 1045 (F), and one of his descendants received the title of Rājā and *tappas* Jamuni and Chitalia as *jāgīr* from the Emperor of Delhi between 1067 and 1075 (F). The next Rājā, Kishori Singh, having become a convert to Islām and married a member of the family of Shāh Shujā, Viceroy of Bengal, obtained several more *jāgīrs*, but his nephews, Harichand Singh and others, enraged at his apostasy, assassinated him. His burial place at Majmai used to be looked upon as a holy place, and even now his descendants offer sweet-meats there in his name. Coming to later times, the raids of the Pahārias forced Rājā Sujan Singh to grant *jāgīrs* in order to prevent their incursions, and in this way 36,000 *bighās* were assigned to *jāgīrdārs*. During his time (1163 to 1187 F.) a fire broke out in Majmai, and the residence of the Rājās was burnt down.

The subsequent history of the family may be briefly told. In 1792 A. D., during the time of Gajrāj Singh, *tappa* Manihāri was permanently settled at a *jamā* of Rs. 8,192. Gajrāj Singh became insane and his property was managed by the Court of Wards from 1804 till his death in 1833, when he was succeeded by his two sons, Rājā Bhāgwan Singh and Kumār Chandan Singh. In 1836 suits were brought by Government for the resumption of the *mansab jāgīr* and of the Manihāri *ghātwāli jāgīr*; and a decree was given in favour of Government in 1838. In that year the zamīndāri of Manihāri was sold for arrears of revenue and purchased for Rs. 15,500 by Babu Ananda Nārāyan Ghose (son of the *dīwān* of Lady Hastings) of Pāthuriāghātā, Calcutta, whose family are still in possession. The last proprietor was Heramba Chandra Ghose, grandson of Ananda Nārāyan, who died in 1907 without issue and was succeeded by his widow, Srimati Paritoshini Dāsī.

Between 1836 and 1841 Chandan Singh was convicted of murder and was sentenced to imprisonment for life ; while Bhagwan Singh developed insanity and his property was managed by his wife Rāni Dularbati till 1840, when Mr. Pontet, on the strength of the resumption decree, took possession of the inner valleys of the Rājmahal Dāmin. The Manihāri *jāgīr* and those portions of the *mansab jāyīr* which lay outside the Dāmin-i-koh were settled after resumption with the Manihāri family or their successors in interest. Between 1838 and her death in 1888 Rāni Dularbati, who was in receipt of a pension from Government, gradually parted with all the family property.

Recently, during the resettlement operations, Nahal Singh and Sib Nārāyan Singh, descendants of Mahtab Singh, a brother of Rājā Gajraj Singh, aided by certain pleaders of Bhāgalpur to whom they had transferred a nine-annas interest in their rights, brought numerous suits, as reversionary heirs of Rāni Dularbati, against the present owners of the resumed *jāgīr* villages, claiming restitution on the ground that the Rāni could not alienate more than her life interest in the estate. The suits were mostly withdrawn on compromise. In 1900 a suit was brought against Government by Nahal Singh, Sib Nārāyan Singh and three pleaders of Bhāgalpur for the restoration of the inner valleys in the northern half of the Dāmin i-koh, i.e., *pargana* Bara Kanjīlā, *tappa* Payer and Haveli Mānjhwe. The suit was eventually compromised, Government agreeing to give the two descendants of the Manihāri Rājās a fixed hereditary pension of Rs. 50 a month and to pay a lump sum of Rs. 20,000 to the other three plaintiffs, in return for which they abandoned their claims.

Tappa Manihāri now comprises two portions, viz., *māl* and *jāyīrdāri* villages. The latter account for one-third of the area and are held by a number of different persons ; while the former are the property of the Ghose family of Pāthuriāghātā. The *tappa* is divided into eight subdivisions called *dūris*, viz., Gobindpur, Bajitpur, Doe, Madhura, Chanda, Dumariā, Phulbāriā and Chaijora. It contains a few places of interest. In Gobindpur there is a village now called Kasba, and formerly Manihāri, from which the *tappa* has taken its name. It contains several large tanks, at present silted up, from the beds of which, as well as from other places in the village, images carved in stone and other architectural remains have been obtained. Bricks of large dimensions are also found as well as engraved slabs of black stone. Māngarh, a *mausa* contiguous to Kasbā, is associated with the memory of Akbar's general Mān Singh. The story current among the people of the place is that when Mān Singh came to

conquer Bengal he encamped at Manihāri and built a fort, which was called Māngarh after him. Legend also relates that his son Jagat Singh, married the daughter of Birendra Singh, the chieftain of the *tappa*, without his father's permission. Bikram Kita is said to have been the capital of Birendra Singh, and there are still remains of a fortress there called Bimligarh after Bimalā, his wife and the step-mother of Jagat Singh's bride. Close by are two images carved out of the rock, which, it has been suggested, may be images of Buddha. The people believe that every one passing by these images should throw stones at them, otherwise evil will befall upon them. On a hillock called Mahā-Pahāria in the north-east of the *tappa* there are remains of a stone fortress.

Muhammadābād.—A *pargana* in the south of the Dumkā subdivision with an area of 133½ square miles. It was formerly held by the Rājas of Nagar in Birbhūm, but in 1851 was purchased at a Civil Court sale by Madhusudan Mukherji of Kenduliā, who sold the property eight years later to Babu Krishna Chandra Chakravarti, father of Rājā Rām Ranjan Chakravarti Bahādur of Hetampur, the present zamindār. The *pargana* is separated from the rest of the Dumkā subdivision by the Lakhapur Hills on the north-west and the Rāmgarh Hills on the north-east. The river Mor cuts through a narrow gorge between these two ranges and runs for about 10 miles through the *pargana* before passing into the Birbhūm district.

Nayā Dumkā—See Dumkā.

Pākaur.—Headquarters of the subdivision of the same name, situated on the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway. Population (1901) 1,519. It contains the usual public offices found at a subdivisional headquarters and has no buildings of any interest except a Martello tower, 30 feet high and 20 feet in diameter, which was built in 1856 for the protection of the railway officers and their bungalows. It is loop-holed for musketry and has room on the top for one or two light guns. This tower afforded protection to the railway officers and some officers of a sepoy regiment when a company of mutineers passed through the place in 1857. From the top of it there is a fine view of the Rajmahāl Hills, and Jangipur 15 miles to the east is also visible. During the Santal rebellion the town was destroyed by the Santals, who, to the number of 8,000, armed with bows, arrows and battle-axes, plundered and burnt the bungalows, sacked the Rāni's palace and overran the town, murdering many of its inhabitants.

Pākaur Subdivision.—Subdivision in the north-west of the district, lying between 24° 14' and 24° 49' N. and between 87° 23'

and $87^{\circ} 53'$ E., with an area of 863 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Rājmahāl subdivision, from which it is separated for a distance of 20 miles by a long chain of hills extending from the river Gūmāni. The district of Mūrshidābād adjoins it on the east and south, and another range of hills separates it from the Dumkā Dāmin on the west. The subdivision contains three distinct tracts viz., (1) a portion of the Dāmin-i-koh Government estate, (2) the zamīndāri portion of *pargana* Ambar, and (3) *pargana* Sultānābād. The first occupies the north western corner of the subdivision and has an area of 285 square miles. The zamīndāri portion of Ambar lies on the east and *pargana* Sultānābād on the south, the combined area of these zamīndāri tracts being 398 square miles. The greater part of the Dāmin-i-koh is a hilly tract populated by aborigines, who live upon forest produce and such crops as can be grown on the hills; whereas the zamīndāri tracts are mostly inhabited by Muhammadans and Hindus. *Pargana* Ambar is a level rice plain studded with hills here and there, in which conditions are the same in Sultānābād except for a strip of about 4 miles adjoining the Dumkā Damin, where the country is rocky. The principal rivers are the Bānsloi, Brāhmaṇi, Pāgla, Torai and Gūmāni. The Bānsloi and Brāhmaṇi, which are used extensively for irrigation, are the largest rivers in the subdivision, each having an average breadth of about 200 feet. Both flow through the Sultānābad *pargana*, and so does the Pāgla or "mad river," a stream notorious for its violence. The Torai is a narrow river in *pargana* Ambar of some importance on account of its fisheries, and the Gūmāni is a hilly stream in the Dāmin-i-koh running along the boundary between this and the Goddā subdivision. The population of the subdivision was 238,648 in 1901, the density being 349 persons to the square mile.

Pātsundā.—A *tappa* in the Goddā subdivision, bounded on the north by Manihari and on the south by Barkop. As related in the article on Barkop, Pātsundā originally formed one estate with Barkop under a Khetauri family, but was separated from it. Up to 1903 it was held by a descendant of Deb Barm, the founder of the Khetauri family, but it was sold in January 1904 for debt and purchased by some *māhājans* of Bhāgpalpur.

Rājmahāl.—Head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name situated in the north-east of the district on the right bank of the Ganges. Population (1901) 2,047. Once the capital of the Viceroy of Bengal, the town is now a collection of mud huts interspersed with a few respectable houses and some ruins of nobler edifices. The remains of the old Muhammadan city, buried in

rank jungle, extend for about 4 miles to the west of the modern town, but most of the buildings have fallen into ruins or have been destroyed in order to provide ballast for the railway. The following account of the remains still extant has been prepared from a note contributed by the Subdivisional Officer.

On the east of the Sub-Registry Office are the ruins of a temple of Siva, and on the west is an old and large well, which the Railway Company used for pumping water for their engines. It is said that when Shah Shujā was defeated the ladies of his zenāna threw into this well whatever jewellery they had. West of the well is a building known as the Holil, the upper part of which is modern, being built by the Railway Company, but the lower part consists of old arched halls and rooms in good preservation. The ruins of a building known as the Hammān or bath are found on the west of this building; imbedded in the walls of its rooms are the remains of pipes, which were used to convey water from a big well a short distance to the nor' h. West of this stands the *cutcherry* building, the verandahs on both sides of which were built by the Railway Company. The interior walls, with the exception of a few partition walls also built by the Company, are old and unusually thick. Below this building are underground rooms which were closed up by the Railway Company. On the west of the *cutcherry* building is the old cemetery. There are 11 tombs in it, of which three have inscriptions dating back to 1847, 1848 and 1859.

On the west of the cemetery is the Sangdalān or marble hall, said to have been built by Mān Singh and popularly known as Mān Singh's Sangdalān. At present it consists of three rooms, of which the centre one has an arched roof supported by six stone pillars, all finely polished. Some beams projecting on the river side point to the existence of underground rooms. This building is in the occupation of the Railway Company and is used as a godown. About 50 yards from the Sangdalān is an old mosque in good preservation, also belonging to the Railway Company, which has made it over for use as a charitable dispensary. It is said that it was built in two months to enable the Emperor Akbar to perform his worship when he visited Rājmahāl in connection with the building of the Jāma Masjid described later.

On the east of the road leading south from the southern bazar is another mosque still used by the local Muhammadans. On the west of this road is the tomb of Mainā Bibi and also a tank known as Mainā Tātāo. The tomb is a picturesque one and is carved inside, but is overgrown with jungle. The tank is about 90 feet square, with *pakkā* masonry work and *ghats* on each side; it is full of

weeds and dries up in the hot weather. Both the tank and the tomb belong to the Nawāb Bahādur of Murshidābād. About 300 yards to the south is the cemetery now in use, on the east of which is a fine mosque in ruins belonging to Panchan Khān of Kotwālī Mālāda: there is a tank with a *pakkā ghāt* to the east of it. On the west of the cemetery is the *jhil* known as Anant Sarobar or Anna Sarobar. About 20 years ago the *jhil* used to have water in it all the year round, but since then it has been drained by Government. In this *jhil* there are the ruins of a structure said to have been built as a pavilion from which spectators could watch the regattas held in the lake in the time of Shāh Shujā. On the southern outskirts of the *jhil*, about 200 yards south west of the cemetery, are the ruins of the Phulbāri and the zanāna buildings of Shāh Shujā. The floor of these buildings is visible in some places, and there are underground rooms with pipes in them, by which water was brought from a reservoir connected with the lake. A portion of a bridge about 6 feet high is still standing: it probably extended across the *jhil*, as another portion may be seen a considerable distance to the west. On the south-west of these ruins the *jhil* stretches towards Udhua Nullah: opposite the Phulbāri it is flanked by a thick parapet wall. On the south of this wall is a piece of high land containing an Idgah, where the Muhammadans congregate during the Bakr Id. About 2 miles south-east of the Idgah is the Nageswar Bagh, in which the only remains of a garden are a few mango trees and two wells, which supply excellent drinking water to the people of the locality.

About 600 yards west of the mosque where the charitable dispensary is located is Mr. Hennessy's bungalow, an old building with a thick parapet wall towards the river. This wall extended about 2 miles to the west as far as Jagat Seth's house in Nawāb Deori, but it is now broken owing to its bricks having been removed for building purposes. The bungalow compound contains a building known as the Bāradwāri from the fact that it has 12 doorways (three on each side); in the middle is an arched room where *da'bārs* used to be held. It is said that this building belonged to Fateh Jang Khān, a rich Muhammadan zamindār. According to local tradition, he incurred the displeasure of Mān Singh for having sent word to Akbar that Mān Singh was building a palace for himself when the foundations of what is now the Jāma Masjid were being laid. On this account, it is said, Mān Singh had his house blown up with gunpowder. This story finds some corroboration from the state of the ruins of the buttresses and a portion of the parapet wall on the north.

About half a mile west of the Rajmahal bazar and on the south of the Bhagalpur road is the tomb of Mirān, son of Mir Jāfar Khān, Nawāb of Bengal (see Chapter II). The tomb, which stands in a mango garden with walls on three sides is made of brick and is unassuming in appearance; on the north towards the road are the ruins of buildings probably intended for the accommodation of visitors. The Jāfarganj Nawāb, a descendant of Mir Jāfar, is in charge of the tomb. About 400 yards west of it, and on the north of the Bhagalpur road, are the ruins of a building known as the Pathargarh or stone house. It had a hall in the middle with two storied rooms on each side; up to a height of about 6 feet the wall was made of stone and above that of polished bricks; the doorways were all of stone. This building has recently been demolished, and only the bare walls are left. Some say it was formerly a mint where Jagat Seth, the banker and financier of Murshidabād, used to coin money; but others simply say that it belonged to a rich merchant. West of this is an old temple of Siva at a place known as Mahādebthān, and three *samādhīs* or tombs of Vaishnava *Sādhus*. At Nawāb Deori west of this temple is the site on which Jagat Seth's palace stood. Ten years ago there were two structures here known as the *naubatkhānā*, but now nothing remains except a parapet wall. About 400 yards to the west were the houses of the Nawāb family of Murshidabād and a fine Imāmbārā, which was in existence till about 20 years ago. Close by there are two mosques, one of which, known as Raushan Masjid, is in fairly good preservation.

About two miles west of Nawāb Deori and south of the Bhagalpur road is the Jama Masjid erected by Mān Singh, which is one of the oldest buildings in Rajmahal. This mosque, a fine specimen of the Mughal style, is situated on a small eminence called Hādaf, about 4 miles west of the railway station; the name Hādaf is an Arabic word meaning a hill or archery butts. One legend relates that Mān Singh originally intended the building to be a palace for himself, and that when Fateh Khān informed the Emperor Akbar he converted it into a mosque. Another tradition is that Mān Singh intended it to be a Hindu temple but converted it into a mosque in order to avert the anger of the Emperor, to whom it had been reported that he was profaning the town by erecting a temple for idolatrous worship. The northern part of the building has now fallen down, but the mosque is magnificent even in ruin. On the west of it is a temple of Siva said to have been built by Mān Singh, and opposite it on the north of the Bhagalpur road are the ruins of a building known as the Baradwāri, in which there are some stone pillars.

still standing. Between the Jama Masjid and the Bāradwāri are the remains of a gateway; and it is said that there was a subterranean passage leading from the courtyard of the Masjid to the Sangdalān at Rājmahāl. About one mile south-east of the Jama Masjid, at a place known as Kitghar situated on the western outskirts of the Anna Sarobar, there is a well about 30 feet in diameter known as Mān Singh's well. Half a mile south of the Jama Masjid is a Muhammadan cemetery which appears to have been used by the Muhammadan gentry living here; some of the tombs are of stone and contain carvings and inscriptions.

About 800 yards north-west of the Jāma Masjid may be seen an old Muhammadan bridge, 236 feet in length with six pointed arches of 10 feet span, built on five piers and having four round bastions, one at each corner. It is on the road to Salibgaunj, and is said to be contemporaneous with the Jāma Masjid. About half a mile to the north of the bridge is a rock called Pirpahār, because there is the tomb of a Pīr or Muhammadan saint on the top of it. On a hillock to the west of it is a place sacred to the Hindus, called Kānaithān. Its sanctity is due to the fact that Krishna is said to have danced here. It is a place of pilgrimage visited by pilgrims returning from the *mela* of Rāmkeli at Mālāda.

Rājmahāl Subdivision.—North eastern subdivision of the district lying between $24^{\circ} 43'$ and $25^{\circ} 18'$ N. and between $87^{\circ} 27'$ and $87^{\circ} 57'$ E., with an area of 741 square miles. It measures about 40 miles from north to south and 30 miles from east to west; its width is greatest in the south and narrows down towards the north, at one point being only about 12 miles. To the north and east the boundary is the main stream of the Ganges, beyond which are the districts of Purnea and Mālāda. To the west the boundary is formed by the Manjhwe Hills running from north to south, beyond which lie the Bhāgalpur district and the Goddā subdivision of this district. To the south the boundary is formed by an irregular line of hills and high land running from east to west, which form the watershed between the Gumāni and Bānsloi rivers; south of this line lie the Dumkā and Pākaur subdivisions of the Santāl Parganas and the Jangipur subdivision of the Murshidābād district.

The eastern portion of the subdivision and a narrow strip along the Ganges to the north consist of alluvial and *diāra* land of the kind so familiar in Bengal. The whole of the western portion, forming about three-fourths of the total area, consists of hills, valleys and pleasant undulating country. To the north the hills extend in an unbroken line running parallel to the Ganges

and leaving a narrow strip of level land between them and the river. To the east they run almost due north and south as far as the Gūmāni river, except at one point where a wedge-shaped block projects to the east near Udhua Nullah. All along their eastern face is a tract of low-lying country stretching down to the Ganges, which is very liable to floods. The south-east of the subdivision, however, on the borders of the Jangipur and Pākaur subdivisions, consists of undulating country with a gravelly soil.

There are two main ranges of hills, *viz.*, the Rājmahāl Hills to the east and the Manjhwe Hills to the west, which run parallel to one another from north to south at an average distance of some 10 miles. The Rājmahāl Hills extend as far as the point where the Gūmāni river debouches into the plains; and the Manjhwe Hills run south till they meet the Gūmāni near its source in the Goddā subdivision. These two ranges coalesce in the north and form a range running close to the river from east to west. South of the Gūmāni there is another irregular range of hills running more or less from east to west, and forming the watershed between the Gūmāni and Bānsloi rivers. The Ganges skirts the subdivision, and there are only two other rivers of any importance, *viz.* the Gūmāni and its tributary the Morel or Moran. The valleys formed by these two rivers are among the most noticeable physical features of the subdivision. They are from four to eight miles broad, are very rich and fertile, and are studded with prosperous Santal villages. The population of the subdivision was 276,703 in 1901, its density being 373 persons to the square mile. It contains one town, Sāhibganj, and 1,292 villages, one of which, Rājmahāl, is its headquarters. The greater portion of the subdivision is included in the Dāmin-i-koh

Sāhibganj.—A town situated in the north-east of the Rājmahāl subdivision on the southern bank of the river Ganges. It extends over about 2 square miles along the Ganges and is intersected by the Loop Line of the East Indian Railway. Its situation is picturesque, for it occupies rising ground along the river bank and is backed by an amphitheatre of hills. A small hill to the south-west of the railway station commands a particularly fine view. Its population in 1901 was 7,558, but at the time of the census an outbreak of plague had caused a partial evacuation of the town, and its true population is probably about 12,000. The town has grown into importance as a trade centre since the construction of the railway. Local produce is received by river from the trans-Ganggetic districts of Malda, Purnea and North Bhāgalpur, while European goods are brought by rail for distribution to those districts. The principal articles of local trade are

rice, maize, other food-grains and *sabai* grass, which is brought down from the Rājmahāl Hills, pressed and exported in bales to Calcutta for the manufacture of paper. Sāhibganj was constituted a municipality in 1883, and the area within municipal limits is 1½ square mile.

Sakrigali.—A village in the north-east of the Rājmahāl subdivision situated close to the Ganges, 6 miles east of Sahibganj. It lies at the base of a long promontory running down from the Rājmahāl Hills, which terminate in a rocky knoll, on the top of which is an old tomb. The village derives its name from the Sakrigali pass, which in Muhammadan times was a pass of great strategic importance and the scene of several battles which have been mentioned in Chapter II. It consists of a narrow winding road, which must have been difficult to force when breastworks and trenches were built across it. According to Ives (1773) the road was 9 to 12 feet wide, cut through rock and hemmed in on either side by impenetrable jungle. He says that if a ball was discharged here, it could not go above 100 yards in a line, the road everywhere abounding with intricate windings. Raymond, the translator of the *Saqr-ul-Mutākkharin*, writing about 1789, describes it as follows:—"Sacry-gally, or the gullet or lane of Sacry, is a narrow defile with the Ganga on one side, and a chain of woody hills on the other: and such is Talia-garry, which besides has a wall that shuts up the passage from end to end. The former defile may be 10 feet broad, and being overhung with woods is capable of great defence, and seems to bar the passage from Bahar into Bengal: but the chain of hills that borders it would, on inspection, afford many other passages, and really there are many more. Rhago-dji in 1740 kept at his left both those defiles, and yet he penetrated with ease into Bengal." There are now no remains of fortifications and this dreaded pass is merely a pretty lane.

The following description of the place was given by Bishop Heber in 1823:—"Sicligully is a little town, or rather village, of straw huts, with the ruinous bungalow and ruinous barracks of Mr. Cleveland's crops, at the base of a high rocky eminence at an angle of the Ganges. The shore is rocky, and the country rises gradually in a succession of hill and dale to the mountains distant about three or four miles. The rocky eminence which I mentioned is quite insulated, and rather higher than the Red Castle Cliff at Hawkstone, which, from the fine timber growing on and round it, it a good deal resembles. I saw some ruins on the top, and on enquiry found that they were the remains of the tomb of a Mussulman saint, one of the conquerors of Bengal, and as devout as he was valiant. The tomb itself is well worth the

trouble of climbing the hill. It stands on a platform of rock, surrounded by a battlemented wall, with a gate very prettily ornamented and rock benches all round to sit or pray on. The 'Chamber of the tomb' is square, with a dome roof very neatly built, covered with excellent chunam, which, though 300 years old, remains entire, and having within it a carved stone mound, like the hillocks in an English churchyard, where sleeps the scourge of the idolaters. The ancient honours of the lamp kept burning, etc., have long been discontinued, but I was told it was the general opinion both of Mussulmans and Hindoos that every Thursday night a tiger comes, couches close to the grave and remains there till morning." According to Ives the tomb is that of Saiyad Ahmad Makhdūm and was built by Shaista Khān, the uncle of Aurangzeb. Close to the village of Sakrigāli is a small bazar called Paltanganj, which is so called from its having contained the barracks of the Pahāria corps raised by Cleveland. The name Sakrigali is probably derived from *sakra* (from the Sanskrit *sang-kirna*), meaning narrow, and *gali*, meaning a path.*

Sankara.—An estate in the Dumkā subdivision extending over 50 square miles and comprising 107 villages. The following sketch of its history has been prepared from a note contributed by the Deputy Commissioner. The estate appears to have been granted as a *lākhīrāj* property to one Jay Singh by Asadullā Zamān Khān, who was Rājā of Nagar in Birbhūm in the 18th century. In 1840 it was resumed by Government and temporarily settled with the heirs of Jay Singh, and in 1845 it was resettled with Digbijay Singh, grandson of Sumar Singh, who again was the grandson of Jay Singh. Digbijay Singh was killed during the Santal insurrection of 1855 on the eastern embankment of a tank close to his house at Gando; a withered *sāl* tree marks the spot at which he met his death. The estate was then taken under the management of the Court of Wards, and was farmed out to Mr. G. H. Grant of Bhāgalpur for a period of 10 years from May 1856 to April 1866, on the expiry of which the lease was renewed for another 5 years. In the meantime, in 1865, the estate was permanently settled, the annual land revenue demand being fixed at Rs. 2,765-9. A settlement of rent was carried out by Mr. Browne Wood in 1875-76, the aggregate rental payable by the ryots being fixed at Rs. 14,322. A resettlement was carried out by Mr. Craven in 1891-92, the effect of which was to increase the rental to Rs. 20,269-8. A revision of the settlement is now being carried out by Mr. Allanson.

* H. Beveridge, *Sāhibganj and Rajmahāl*, Calcutta Review, Vol. XCVI (1893), pp. 71-72.

The estate is at present held by Siva Sundari, the daughter of Digbijay Singh, who resides at Gando and is generally known as the Gando Rāni. The members of the family call themselves Kumārbhāg Pahārias and are believed to be of the same stock as the Māl Pahārias in the Dumkā subdivision, amongst whom they have a number of relatives. The estate derives its name from the village of Sankara, once the family residence, which lies in the Dāmin-i-koh, on the northern side of the river Brāhmaṇī, which separates the two estates. It is said that before the family settled at Gando they used to live at Pathaithān, where they migrated from Brindāban. The family also appears to have lived for a time at Murgathali on the Punsia Hills and before that at Dighi near the Singhin Hills. The latter hills are closely connected with the traditions of the family; and the family deity Singhabāhini (rider of the lion), one of the names of the ten-armed Durgā, is supposed to reside in a cave in them. Human sacrifices used to be offered to her, the last rite of this nature being performed under the orders of Prithi Singh, an uncle of Digbijay Singh. Prithi Singh escaped the gallows, but his associates paid the extreme penalty of the law on the other side of the Dumkā *bāndh* at a spot known to this day as *Phānia dāngal* (the hanging ground).* The misfortunes of the family are ascribed to the wrath of this goddess, who even now is supposed to appear in visions and ask for human sacrifices.

Further information regarding the estate is given by Mr. W. B. Oldham in his work *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District*. "Sankara is the name of the group of hills south-west of the present Dāmin-i-koh, which, though part of the original Dāmin-i-koh recognized by Cleveland, were cut off from it in the years 1826 to 1833 by that extremely self-willed and autocratic officer, the Hon'ble John Petty Ward when he was forming the present ring-fence in those years. Cleveland made no distinction between the Maler and the Māl, and conferred a set of his stipends on the Māls of Sankara, and of course, with them, the privileges of his legal system for the hills. Sankara lay in the Birbhūm zamīndāri, close to the cleared country, and easily accessible; and the chief of Cleveland's time, Tribhuban Singh by name, more resembled a petty *tālukdār* than one of the barbarous mountaineers, and was, in fact, a

* Mr. W. B. Oldham writes in *Some Historical and Ethnical Aspects of the Burdwan District*:—"In 1868 it seemed as if nothing could save Sankara from sale and extinction, and, to avert the impending ruin, the heads of the family seized and sacrificed an unfortunate Bhojpuri trader on the top of Singini Math (the horned head), their highest hill.

plainsman. His son, Sumar Singh, a man of great character and physical energy, combined the predatory habits of a Paharia with the cunning and litigiousness of a Bengali, and used to raid almost up to the civil station of Suri, about 30 miles away, and to secure immunity from the consequences by pleading the privileges of Cleveland's system and trial by his peers. In this way he formed a very considerable *tāluk*, the genesis of which only came to light in the course of Mr. Ward's operations. That officer indignantly cut it off from the Dāmin-i-koh, and in doing so had to sever the genuine mountaineers recognized by Cleveland, and vested with sets of stipends by him, in the high hills to the south-west of Sankara. All this territory was restored to the permanently-settled tracts in the midst of which it lay. It is curious that, notwithstanding his indignation with Sumar Singh, Mr. Ward made no attempt to interfere with the Sankara stipends, which continued to be paid till 1879, when I resumed them. Sumar Singh, meanwhile, retained his ill-gotten territory and the title of Rājā; and in the litigation which followed his death the *Dāyabhāga* was claimed by one party of disputants as the law governing the family and was decreed to be so by the Privy Council. The present ward, his grand-daughter Sibu Sundari, is still called Rānī in her own little court."

Sarath Deoghar.—A *tappa* in the south of the district comprising the whole of the Deoghar subdivision and part of the Dumkā and Jāmtārā subdivisions. The whole *tappa*, except a few acres in the town of Deoghar, is divided into *ghālwālis*, some of which form very considerable *tālukas*. These *ghālwālis* are governed by Regulation XXIX of 1814, which is in force only in Sarath Deoghar.

Sultānābād.—A *pargana* in the Pākaur subdivision within the jurisdiction of the Maheshpur and Pākurī police stations. The traditional history of the *pargana* is as follows. It was originally a thick jungle, infested by wild animals, in which the Paharias settled under a chief called Chānd Sardār. He lived at a place, about 6 miles north of Maheshpur, which was called after him Chāndpur; the name is still met with in old records and maps, but the modern name of the village is Amlagāchi. In course of time, Hindus and Muhammadans came and settled in this tract, one of their leaders being Sultān Shāh, who settled at a place 4 miles south of Maheshpur, where the present village of Dum-Dum is situated. Sultān Shāh reclaimed the jungle here and built a mosque, which is still in existence though in a ruinous state. It is regarded with veneration both by the Hindus and Muhammadans of the locality, who call it Shabamuddin Shāh's

dargāh. The place where Sultān Shāh lived was named after him Sultanābād, and that name was given to the surrounding country.

According to the chronicles of the Maheshpur family Sultanābād was conquered by two brothers Abu Singh and Baku Singh, who came from Gorakhpur with a number of followers on a visit to their relative, the Rājā of Kharagpur, and in alliance with him defeated all the zamindārs of the country. The elder brother, Baku Singh, became ruler of the greater part of the tract thus conquered and established his capital at Maheshpur. He was the founder of the Maheshpur Rāj family, which is still in possession of Sultanābād. The younger brother, Abu Singh, took what was left and reclaimed a large area of hill and jungle. The two brothers, having secured themselves in possession, obtained recognition from the Nawab of Bengal, to whom Baku Singh sent every year some forest produce as tribute. His brother Abu Singh settled among the Pahārias and is said to have married a Pahāria woman. Of the descendants of Baku Singh there is nothing of interest to record till we come to Garjan Singh, who held the estate from 1161 to 1165 of the Bengali era (A.D. 1754-58). During his time bands of Marāthā freebooters passed through Sultanābād, and some of them are said to have been defeated by Garjan Singh and driven across the Ganges. In order to save himself and his family from their attacks Garjan Singh had subterranean rooms built in Maheshpur, the ruins of which may be seen to this day. On the death of Garjan Singh without issue his widow, Rāni Sarbeswari, succeeded to the Rāj and was in possession when the British rule began.

The *pargana* was at first included in the Rājshāhi Division, but was brought under the hill system by Cleveland in 1781. Two years later Rāni Sarbeswari was tried and deposed by him in consequence of her instigating the depredations of the Mal Pahārias, but in 1791 the estate was restored to Makum Singh, a nephew of Garjan Singh, with whom a settlement was effected in 1799. On his death in 1803 the estate was held first by his widow and then by his grandson, Raghunāth Singh, who was succeeded in 1832 by his sister Jānaki Kumāri Devī, who held the estate till 1888. Her husband was Gopāl Chandra Singh, a Rājput of Gorakhpur, who received the title of Rājā in 1872 and of Mahārājā in 1875. In 1888, four years before her death, Jānki Kumāri made over the property to her youngest son Indra Nārāyan Singh, on whose death in 1892 it passed to his four minor sons, Jogendra, Debendra, Gyanendra and Phanindra, with their mother Rāni Rādhā Pyāri Devī as their guardian. The

estate was taken over by the Court of Wards in 1907 on their joint application. The headquarters of the estate are at Maheshpur.

Several places in the *pargana* are the subject of local legends. Haripur, 14 miles south-east of Maheshpur, is said to have been the residence of one Hari Singh and contains the ruins of large tanks and Saiva temples. Two miles north-west of Haripur there is a Santali village formerly known as Sibpur, with the ruins of five Saiva temples, close to which is a sulphurous spring. About a mile east of Maheshpur is Garhbāri, said to have been the residence of Kaidar Rai, an officer in the employ of the Nawāb of Murshidābād, who having incurred the displeasure of the Nawāb sought shelter here. Devinagar, about six miles south-west of Maheshpur, was once the residence of Lālā Uday Narāyān, a Bhojpuri officer in the service of the Nawāb of Murshidābād. Ruins of houses and temples attributed to him, are still extant, and among the inhabitants of the village there are a number of Bhojpuris. Near Devinagar there are two smaller villages called Kotālpokhar and Akdāsāl. It is believed that the Kotāls or Kotwāls (*i.e.*, guards) of Lālā Uday Narāyān were stationed in Kotālpokhar in order to guard his houses and property, and at Akdāsāl was the *akhāḍa* (or wrestling ground) of his soldiers and retainers. There was also a road constructed from Devinagar to Murshidābād, which can still be traced.

Teliāgarhi—A ruined fort situated 7 miles east of Sāhibganj close to the East Indian Railway line. It stands on a plateau on the lower slope of the Rājmahal Hills, at the foot of which the Ganges formerly flowed: tradition, indeed, says that soldiers used to sit on the walls with fishing rods and catch fish from the river below. Owing to its position it was a place of great strategic importance, and was known as “the key of Bengal.” Ives gives the following account of it as it appeared in 1757. “This is only a wall carried on from the brink of the river (which at this place is prodigiously rapid) to the foot of the mountain, and is almost impassable, being covered, like that at Sicarigully, with thick woods and jungle; and hath this further impediment, that very near to the wall runs a rivulet, on the side of the hill, seemingly impracticable to pass over. The bastions are without parapets, having eight sides that are not eight feet wide, and they have contrived to build the walls so artfully, that the rivulet serves for a ditch in front. The bastion wall, which is about 14 feet high and 50 yards long, entirely commands the river, which though it be three-fourths of a mile broad here, yet the current is such as to carry all boats close under the platform.” The translator of the

Sair-ul-Mutakhrin, however, writing at the close of the 18th century, had no great opinion of its strength. "Telia-Garry is a fort that shuts up the passage into Bengal. It consists in a wall, strengthened with towers, that extends from the foot of the hills to the rocky bank of the Ganges. It has neither ditch nor rampart, and yet answers well enough the purpose in a country where they know nothing of sieges, and hardly anything of artillery. Else a battery of 24 pounders would make a breach in it in half a day: and a couple of mortars placed upon the brow of the hill would destroy every man and every building in the fort."

The Ganges, having changed its course and formed a large *char*, is now far away from Teliāgarhī, the East Indian Railway line now running close to the fort. The fort, moreover, has fallen into ruins; but long walls, made of stones and bricks in alternate courses, may still be seen to the north, east and west. There are gates in the eastern and western sides, and the length of the walls is approximately 250 feet. To the south the adjoining hill formed a natural protection. The northern wall has three octagonal pavilions, one at each end and one in the centre. Inside there are several rooms along the walls, and a small mosque with three domes stands in the north western corner; while in the south-eastern corner an old bath still exists. To the north, in the plain, are traces of more ancient buildings, but they are in utter ruin. Carved stones, such as are found at Gaur, are lying among the debris, and perhaps a mosque in the old Bengali style existed here. Local tradition states that the fort is called after a Teli zamindār who was compelled by the Muhammadans to embrace Islām, but it seems more likely that the derivation is *teli*, a Hindi word meaning black, which would naturally be applied to the fortress on account of the black stones used in building it.*

Udhūā Nullah.—A village on the bank of the Ganges situated 6 miles south of Rājmahal, close to which the battle of Udhūā Nullah was fought on the 5th September 1763. The following description of the battle is given by Broome in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army*:—"The position selected by the enemy was one of exceeding strength, to add to which no pains or expense had been spared. It commanded the main and only road, and extended across the gorge formed between the Ganges and the Rajmahal Hills, a steep spur of which ran out and narrowed the pass at this particular point. A deep morass extended along the front of the lines from near the foot of the hills to within less than 100 yards from the river, along which

* H. Beveridge, *Sāhibganj and Rājmahal*, Calcutta Review, Vol. XCVI (1893), pp. 67-70.

narrow strip ran the road. The left of the intrenchment rested on the river; from hence it ran in a south-westerly direction for about a mile, when it abutted upon a steep isolated hill which was strongly fortified and garrisoned. From this it again branched off in a more southerly direction up to the main spur of the mountains, amongst the ravines and scarped precipices of which it finally terminated. The whole of this line of works was of recent construction; the ramparts were about 60 feet thick and 10 high, surmounted by a parapet of about 18 feet thick and 7 feet high; and in front, along the whole line on the plain, ran a deep ditch of 60 feet wide and about 12 deep. Batteries were erected at convenient intervals, and upwards of 100 pieces of cannon were mounted upon them. Some distance to the rear was the old line of works, and the Oodwah Nullah, from which the pass derived its name, the steep banks of which formed a natural defence of themselves. Across this a stone bridge had been thrown, where a strong guard was stationed; and in the interval the whole of the army was encamped. The force collected here comprised all the troops that had escaped from Gherriah, with the reinforcements sent by Meer Kossim Khan, the whole amounting to upwards of 40,000 men, including the regular Brigades of Sumroo, Markar and Aratoon.

"The only accessible point was along the bank of the river, and to attack this the army now bent their endeavours. Fascines and gabions were constructed, approaches lined out, and batteries thrown up with considerable skill, the troops, Europeans and natives, working with cheerfulness and alacrity; but the progress of these operations was very slow, owing to the limited means at command. The force was moreover constantly harassed by parties of the enemy stealing out of the intrenchments near the foot of the hills, and fording the morass before daylight. This compelled Major Adams to extend his camp to the left and throw up an intrenchment in front, his right resting on the river and his left on a branch of the morass. The King's and Company's Battalions were in the centre, the Sipahi Battalions divided on the flanks; a strong guard of Sipahis was pushed forward to the right to support the parties in the trenches, to which the artillery, the paucity of whose numbers could admit of no relief, were entirely confined. The Company of Volunteers under Captain Wedderburn and the three Companies of Captain MacLean's Battalion that had recently arrived, were stationed in the boats for the defence of the stores and the command of the river. In these tedious operations nearly a month was consumed. At length, on the 4th of September, three batteries had been erected, the nearest

of which was within 300 yards of the fortifications, on the massive ramparts of which the Artillery of the English could make but little impression, although all the siege guns of the force had been disembarked from the boats. A small breach was effected, however, close to the gateway near the river, but of a very imperfect nature, and success, if not hopeless, appeared very distant.

"On that day a European soldier of Meer Kossim Khan's army, originally a deserter from the Company's service, came in and offered, on condition of pardon, to point out a ford through the morass by which the troops might cross and attack the left of the entrenchment. That such a ford did exist the previous attacks of the enemy had proved, and the proposition was readily embraced. Arrangements were accordingly made that night, and the following morning the Grenadiers of the 84th Regiment and those of the European Battalion, with two Battalions of Sipahis, of which Captain Broadbrook's (the present 1st Native Infantry) was one, got under arms three hours before daybreak, the whole under the command of Captain James Irving; whilst the remainder of the force, leaving a sufficient guard in camp, moved quietly into the trenches, with the intention of making a false attack to attract the enemy's attention, which was to be converted into a real attack if circumstances permitted. This latter party was commanded by Captain Moran, and a reserve column was held in readiness under Major Carnac to act as might be found advisable.

"The detachment under Captain Irving crossed the morass with great difficulty, the men being obliged to carry their arms and pouches on their heads to save them from getting wet. They succeeded, however, in reaching the intrenchment without being discovered, and there being no ditch at that point, they planted the scaling ladders they had purposely brought and mounted the rampart. This was close to the isolated hill already mentioned, and as the latter was strongly stockaded on the summit and might be looked upon as the key of the position, Captain Irving determined to ascend and endeavour to carry it by surprise. Strict orders were given to the men on no account to fire, but to trust solely to the bayonet, and several of the enemy, who were found lying asleep under the parapet, received their passports into eternity from that silent and deadly weapon. Before the party reached the summit the alarm was given, but too late; the Grenadiers rushed forward, closely followed by the Sipahis, and in a few minutes they were masters of the stockade and not one of the enemy left alive.

"A *mssau* that had been brought for the purpose was now lighted and held aloft as the preconcerted signal for the party in the

trenches The Artillery from the advance battery opened a sudden and heavy fire upon the breach, until the party under Captain Moran had got close to it. Great difficulty was experienced in crossing the ditch, and when this was effected, the breach was found to be very steep and only wide enough for one person. The enemy, however, distracted by the varied attack, made but a feeble resistance, and a sufficient party having ascended by means of scaling ladders opened the gates to their comrades. The whole force now rushed in and, as previously agreed upon, turned to their left, whilst Captain Irving's party having moved to the right, the whole united, and a fearful scene of carnage ensued.

" It was yet barely daylight, and the enemy, confounded by the suddenness of the attack coming from several quarters, were thrown into inextricable confusion, to add to which, their own guard stationed at the bridge over the nullah had orders to fire upon any one attempting to cross, with a view of compelling the troops to resistance—a duty which was performed with fearful effect. A heap of dead speedily blocked up that passage and forced the fugitives to look for some other channel of escape. Many threw themselves into the river and were drowned, others attempted to cross the Oodwah, but the steepness of the banks, and the pressure and confusion of the panic-struck crowd, caused a vast sacrifice of life. The greater portion of those who escaped got off by skirting the hills, and many perished amongst the difficulties and precipices of that route. A few attempted to make a stand in the old lines, but they were speedily overpowered and destroyed; 15,000 are said to have perished in this attack and during the flight. To the credit of the English no unnecessary slaughter was committed; after being once assured of success, none fell by their hands save those in actual opposition. An immense number of prisoners were taken, including several officers of rank, all of whom were kindly treated and subsequently released. The great casualty was chiefly attributable to the panic, the confusion, and the darkness, as also to the usual mode of egress being closed. The loss of the English was comparatively inconsiderable, the only officer whose death is recorded being the gallant Captain Broadbrook, who had so long commanded the 1st Battalion of Sipahis. Lieutenant Hampton was also severely wounded. Upwards of 100 pieces of cannon were captured, besides a vast quantity of military stores, and so complete was the overthrow, that the enemy never attempted to rally either at Rajmahal, which was fortified, or in the Sickreegullee or Teereeahgullee passes, either of which was equally tenable with that of Oodwah Nullah—and the wearied fugitives, arriving in

the neighbourhood of Mongheer, brought the first intelligence to Meer Kossim Khan of the disaster that had befallen his army.

"When the difficulties of the undertaking, the enormous disproportion of the forces, and the completeness of the result are considered, this must be acknowledged to have been a most extraordinary and brilliant achievement; and though the success was attributable to the surprise, the siege operations, considering the means, were highly creditable to the army, more especially when it is remembered how little practical knowledge either officers or men could have possessed of that description of warfare."

The lines of entrenchment can still be traced, and an arch of the bridge over the *nullah* is still standing. The *jhil* on the right, through which the British troops waded on the night of the surprise, is part of the great *jhil* through which the railway line passes between Tinpahār and Rājmahā.

Vaidyanath—*See* Deoghar.

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